

The WALL STREET JOURNAL (4/25) carried an advertising supplement extolling Turkey. One of the items follows:

# Afghan Refugees find a new home in Turkey

Nearly 5,000 refugees from Afghanistan have been given the chance to start a new life in Turkey. Among them are several Kirghiz, Turkmen and Uzbek tribes, as well as small numbers of Kazakhs and Uighurs. They are a unique group since, unlike other Afghan refugees, they are all of Turkic origin and thus share close cultural and linguistic links with the Turks.

For many of them the move to Turkey marks the end of a flight that began in Central Asia over 50 years ago. Then, faced with the prospect of Soviet domination, they chose to leave their traditional territory and migrate to neighboring countries. Some went to China, but the majority to Afghanistan. In 1978, those who had settled in Afghanistan once more sensed a Soviet threat to their independence, and began moving across the border into northern Pakistan.

The fugitives trekked through the high passes of the Hindu Kush with their women and children, their tents and precious livestock. It was a gruelling journey, but they survived its rigors remarkably well. Once in Pakistan, however, troubles began to accumulate and despite help from the government, their situation rapidly deteriorated.

No grazing land could be found for their animals, and the surviving sheep and yaks, such an important source of wealth in Afghanistan, had to be sold for a minimal price, or worse still, given away for nothing. The refugees had their first contact with malaria and many died of this and the other illnesses they soon contracted, including tuberculosis, dysentery and jaundice. The unaccustomed heat, sudden change of diet and lack of any real employment added to their misery.

It was at this point, when they seemed closer to extinction than to sanctuary, that the Turkish President Evren heard of their plight. In a magnanimous gesture, prompted as much by recognition of an ancient Turkic blood-bond as by humanitarian considerations, he invited them to settle in Turkey. (An echo, incidentally, of the generosity of a previous Turkish government, who in 1954 gave a similar welcome to a tribe of Kazakhs from China, likewise stranded in

Pakistan.)

Preparations to receive the refugees were undertaken immediately. The event caught the imagination of the whole population and when they finally arrived in August 1982, they were feted like returning heroes. The Turks constantly refer to them as 'guests' and genuinely consider it an honor, as well as a duty, to do their very best for the newcomers.

## Compatible life style

Every effort has been made to provide accommodation that is compatible with their former way of life. This has required considerable flexibility on the part of the authorities, for the immigrants represent very different backgrounds, ranging from illiterate nomads to qualified doctors and engineers. In view of this, some Uzbeks, Turkmen and Kazakhs have been settled in urban areas; others, including all the Kirghiz, have been allocated to rural districts where they will be able to pursue their familiar occupations of herding and farming.

Equal care has been given to the geographic choice of location. The warmer, south-eastern provinces of Hâtay, Gaziantep, Urfa and Diyarbakir are playing host to the Uzbeks. The Turkmen and Kazakhs have been sent to the central provinces of Tokat, Kırşehir and Kayseri (where some of the 1954 Kazakh immigrants are also settled). The Kirghiz, used to the bitter cold of the towering Pamirs, have been given homes near Lake Van, where the winter temperature often falls below -35°C and there is sometimes snow for nine months of the year.

The Kirghiz are a particularly interesting group: members of a single tribe, they function as an extended family, accepting with-

out question the authority of their chief, Rahman Gul. His vigorous optimism sets the mood of his people and has undoubtedly been a vital factor in helping them to adapt so well to their new environment.

Most of them are now lodged in a temporary settlement in the village of Karagündüz ('Black Daylight'), east of Van. Prefabricated houses (originally erected to shelter earthquake victims) provide comfortable accommodation; running water, electricity and a mini-supermarket make life much easier than it ever was in Afghanistan. The village also boasts amongst its facilities a mosque, a post-office, a medical center and a school with teachers specially chosen to help the Kirghiz children learn Turkish.

The women, I found, were unmistakably happy. They still wear their colorful traditional costumes and prepare their special dishes, but they are eager to assimilate new skills. Always good carpet weavers, they are now learning to use the wide, fixed looms favored in Turkey (and more suited to the export market), in place of the narrow, portable ones they knew before.

For the men life is more difficult: they have no work as yet. This is no great financial hardship, since they receive an adequate allowance from the government. Moreover, essential services such as medical care and education are free, and food heavily subsidized. What irks them is the inactivity and the loss of their nomad life.

Fortunately, the problem is only temporary. The intention is that they become self-sufficient as soon as possible and when they move to their permanent homes (probably this summer), they will be given their own land and animals (though not, alas, their beloved yaks, an animal unknown in Turkey).

The Kirghiz have no regrets about coming to Turkey. Like their fellow immigrants, they feel a deep sense of kinship with the Turks and are proud to have become Turkish citizens. If Afghanistan is ever free, they told me, they would go back – but only on a visit.

by Dr. Shirin Akiner

## PRESERVING THE CULTURAL HERITAGE - KNT 2/14

(Bakhtar).— The National Museum of Afghanistan now preserves over 1,000 historical and archeological relics.

The employees of the museum have restored over 1,100 of these with the cooperation of the experts of the Soviet Union.

The construction of a new museum in Ghazni has meanwhile, advanced by 80 per cent so far and it will be completed and inaugurated next year.

This was stated by the Chairman of the State Committee for Culture in an interview to BIA.

He added: "During the current year, the scientific and technical cadres of the museum, along with the scholars of the friendly and fraternal country, the Soviet Union, have managed the collection of 21,019 relics from Tilla Tapa and have prepared colour photographs for an album from the findings".

The museum has organised two exhibitions namely the Shor Toghi relics and the Kushan era which have been seen by a large number of foreign guests and interested people.

Pamphlets of the Shor Toghi and ceramic works have been published by the museum.

In the near future, the museum will open an ethnography museum in the Kabul city.

# What the Russians are gaining in Afghanistan

Although the Soviets have been unable to subjugate Afghanistan, they are moving ahead toward their strategic objectives in the mountainous country at a rate alarming to Western military planners. The Soviet Union's common border has confounded all predictions that Afghanistan would become Moscow's Vietnam. A team of 25 generals commanding 110,000 troops inside Afghanistan and another 30,000 poised across the borders inside the Soviet Union is better placed than three years ago to take punitive action against guerrillas. New roads and bridges have laboriously been constructed all over the country.

New Delhi observes see the Russians adopting the British Indian Empire model, building cantonments that secure a safe haven for their nationals and permit largely indirect control. Significantly, New Delhi hears the Russians are circulating to their officers translations of standard works on the British deployment in India.

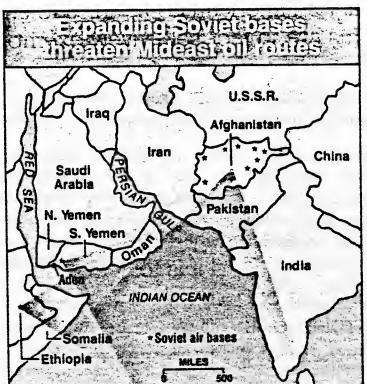
**Strategic edge.** Afghanistan has been divided into seven military districts, each headed by a Soviet general, with up to 1,000 specially trained commandos, plus Mi-24 helicopters, at his disposal. Runways at 19 airfields have been expanded. New airfields are being built at Kandahar, Herat, Badakhshan, and Mizare Sharif. Soviet casualties to date are estimated at 8,000 to 12,000—probably considered insignificant by Moscow considering the strategic edge it gets from its troops' new proximity to the Persian Gulf.

But it is the supersecret bases, off limits to the Soviets' Afghan allies, that carry the most portent for future Soviet presence. These bases are under construction in the Wakhan corridor, the finger reaching out toward China, and in the

Shindand near the Iranian border. Lieutenant General Ghulam Siddique Mirki, the top Afghan defector and former deputy chief of KHAD, Afghan intelligence, claims an underground nuclear missile base in the Wakhan is targeted on China. These Afghan bases, combined with airfields at Aden in South Yemen and in Ethiopia, will give Soviet aircraft "fans" over the critical Persian Gulf oil routes. (There are already some 400 Soviet planes in Afghanistan, mainly MiG-21s but including some of the strategic MiG-23s and Ilyushin-38 electronic-control planes.)

It was this possibility of strategic advantage, of course, that initially stirred such anxiety among the oil producers in the Persian Gulf and Pakistan. That concern has been somewhat blunted by Soviet propaganda efforts emphasizing Moscow's willingness to discuss withdrawal and by the fact that, despite all its rhetoric, Washington has not produced an effective strategy for dealing with the Soviet aggression.

Pakistan and U.S. officials were stunned when Bangladesh President General Hussain Ershad declared at the Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi in early March that he would normalize relations with the Soviet puppet regime. It was a former Bangladesh government that summoned the Islamic foreign ministers to break relations in 1980 after the Soviet invasion. Pakistan itself will begin a round of indirect negotiations with the Kabul regime in April in Geneva. However, massive base and cantonment construction and surveying for new railway and road expansion indicate that the Russians are staying in Afghanistan for the long haul, with all the implications that has for American policy in the Mideast.



## MILITARY STATISTICS from the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW YEARBOOK 1983.

### AFGHANISTAN

Population: 15,300,000 (including exiles).  
Military service: conscription to age 35; 3 years.  
Total armed forces: 46,000.\*  
Estimated GNP 1981: US\$3.23 billion.  
Estimated defence expenditure 1981: US\$97 million.  
GDP growth 1981: 1.5%.  
Inflation 1981: 10%.

**Army:** 40,000 (mostly conscripts).  
3 corps HQ.  
11 inf divs.  
3 arm'd divs (under strength bdes).  
2 mountain inf bdes.  
1 arty bde with 3 arty regts.  
2 cdo regts.  
1 para regt.  
50 T34, 700 T54/55, 100 T62 MBT; 60 PT76 lt tks; BMP1 MICV, 800 BTR 40/50/60/152 APC; 900 76mm, M1944 100mm guns; 530 122mm, D1 122mm how; 82mm, 100 120mm, 160mm mor; 50 BM-13-16 132mm MRL; 82mm RCL; 76mm, 100mm ATK guns; Snapper ATGW; 350 23mm, 37mm, 57mm and 100mm towed, 20 ZSU23-4 SP AA guns; SA7 SAM.

**RESERVES:** No viable reserve force identified; call-up from ex-service men, Youth League and regional tribes from age 20-40.

**Air Force:** 6,000 (includes Air Defence Command); perhaps 117 combat ac, some 30 armed hel.\*\*

3 lt bhr sqns with 20 Il 28.  
7 FGA sqns: 4 with 40 MiG 17, 2 with MiG 19, 1 with 12 Su 17 *Fitter C*.  
3 interceptor sqns with 25 MiG 21.  
2 tpt sqns with some 10 An 2, 15 An 26, 4 An 24, 2 Il 18D.  
4 hel sqns with up to 14 Mi 4, 30 Mi 8, 30 Mi 24.  
Trainers incl. MiG 15/17UTI/21U, Il 28U, Yak 18, L39C.  
AAM: AA2 Atoll.  
1 AD div: 1 SAM bde (3 bns) with 120 SA2, 115 SA3; 1 AA bde (2 bns) with 37mm, 85mm, 100mm guns; 1 radar bde (3 bns).

**Paramilitary Forces:** 30,000 Gendarmerie. Border forces (being absorbed by army). Ministry of Interior: Khad (secret police); Sarandoli Defence of the Revolution forces org. provincial regiments; Regional Revolution Defence Groups; Pioneers; Afghan Communist Party Guards; Khalqi Youth Militia (at least one bn); Pashtun Tribal Militia.

\*Actual strength suspect due to defections. All units well below establishment. Divs reported to average 2,500 (i.e. about a quarter strength). The Soviet High Command in Afghanistan now effectively controls the Afghan forces, and it is not possible to differentiate between Soviet and Afghan holdings of identical equipment.

Resistance to the Soviet presence involves many among male population and perhaps 90,000 guerrillas (perhaps 20,000 intermittently active) supported by some 15 exile political groups, six of them active. Equipment: mainly small arms: 60mm, 2-in, 82mm; RPG 7 RL; 75mm, 82mm RCL; 12.7mm, 14.5mm AA machine guns, SA7 SAM, and ATK mines.\*\*

For some time now press articles and rumors have been questioning the aims of one Afghan Resistance Group: the Hizbe-Islami directed by Mr. Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. The Hizbe-Islami are said to have taken a hostile stance with respect to other Mujahedeen groups. Our Peshawar correspondent met on December 8 with Mr. Hikmatyar who agreed to shed light on a few of these questions.

The following are passages from the interview:

AFC: Some foreign journalists and other visitors to Afghanistan have said that your Mujahedeen fight against other Mujahedeen.

GULBUDDIN HIKMATYAR (GH): These journalists with their ulterior motives who come to Afghanistan are enemies of its Islamic Revolution. They do not wish for it to succeed and this is why they want to create disunity among the Mujahedeen. An example of the Western Press's exaggeration is a news item reporting that in the Istalif area to the north of Kabul, two thousand Mujahedeen had been killed in internal clashes. This number of killed has never been reached in even the biggest clashes with the Soviets. Skirmishes - which we denounce - do however take place and are extraordinarily played up by enemies of the Islamic Revolution even though in so prolonged and vast a war such happenings are normal.

AFC: Do you believe agents of the Kabul Regime have infiltrated the Mujahedeen and set Mujahedeen groups against each other?

GH: We are very strict and careful about extending our party membership though this may not be the case in other groups.

AFC: Would you comment on rumors that you have told your Mujahedeen to disarm or eliminate Mujahedeen belonging to other groups?

GH: Our strict instructions to the Mujahedeen are to combat the Soviet enemy who has invaded Afghanistan and whose hands are stained with the blood of six hundred thousand Afghan Muslims. We do not kill Mujahedeen since this is a sin in Islam and we consider all who are out to kill their own people and create misunderstanding among Mujahedeen; so as to weaken them before the Russians, to be enemies of Islamic Revolution.

AFC: Do you have anything to say about a BBC broadcast which quoted Commander Ahmad Shah Masood as saying that all the Resistance Groups except the Hizbe-Islami participated in the Panjshir Valley battles?

GH: We are fighting for Allah and do not need any certificate from Ahmad Shah Masood. I would like to say, however, that the Hizbe-Islami has inflicted heavy casualties on the Russians in the Panjshir Valley. Our Mujahedeen have captured 400 different types of weapons which is proof of our activity and intense fighting in these battles. Moreover Masood's father came to me and praised the activities of our Mujahedeen.

AFC: There is a feeling that you do not recognize the right of the people to choose a government of their own and that you consider this the right of the Hizbe-Islami alone. Would you comment on this?

GH: Our stance on the type of Afghan government with which we are ready to cooperate is stated in our manifesto. We will never

recognize any government other than Islamic in Afghanistan and the leadership of the country will depend on the people's choice.

AFC: Are you willing to hold peace talks with the Soviets and how do you feel the Afghan Issue is being treated in international talks?

GH: The Russians do not wish for peace in Afghanistan. When they are under pressure from world opinion they talk of peace but meanwhile they are strengthening their positions in Afghanistan. There exist clear Islamic principles for peace with the enemy. When the enemy leaves the battlefield all-powerful and triumphant, peace negotiations with him will not be just and this is why we are not prepared to talk. Before discussions can be held the Soviets must first unconditionally withdraw their troops from Afghanistan. We will agree to nothing less than this. As to international talks, any hope for solution of the Afghan Issue is vain without the participation of the Mujahedeen since we believe the war is being fought between two forces: the Afghan Mujahedeen and the Soviets. Those who try to create other aspects to this war are distorting its essentials and will not succeed.

AFC: What is your reaction to the talks between Pakistani President General Zia Ul Haq and Yuri Andropov and what do you think of General Zia's proposal that a conference including the United States, China, the Soviet Union, Iran, Pakistan, the Kabul Regime and the Mujahedeen could solve the Afghan Crisis?

GH: The Pakistani Government can propose and negotiate for its benefit and security but has no right to do so for the Afghans without the participation of the Mujahedeen. There can be no compromise on this. The Pakistani Government understands the Jihad and Afghan interests and would never decide anything for or against us without Mujahedeen participation.

AFC: What of the American Senate's decision to send arms to the Mujahedeen?

GH: Both the Soviet Union and the United States are opposed to a success of the Islamic Revolution and Islamic Order in Afghanistan. The US would be of great assistance if it would cease distorting the reality of our condition and of the Islamic Revolution in Afghanistan. We have no hope of weapons from America.

AFC: Do you consider the Afghan War to be a war of liberation or an Islamic Revolution?

GH: Those who are fighting only for freedom from foreign domination are fighting a war of liberation, but we are also fighting for the establishment of an Islamic Order. We are fighting both an Islamic Jihad and a war of liberation.

AFC: There are two Mujahedeen alliances at Peshawar fighting for the Afghan People. What do you think of this alliance, collaboration and cooperation?

GH: Two alliances do not exist. We know of only one alliance: Ours, made up of seven organizations and we are striving to maintain and strengthen this alliance. Those who are outside it will either perish or be compelled to join.

KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN - a "pack of contradictions"

There have been many "characters" in Afghanistan and the NWFP. One of the most colorful is Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who has been fighting battles, both real and imaginary, since the beginning of the century. What follows is the latest instalment in his extraordinary saga:

A Press release from the DRA (36/82) in the latter part of 1982 deplored the news, reported in the Indian newspaper, National Herald, of the arrest by Pakistani authorities of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The release states that Pakistan was "clearly annoyed with open pronouncements of Ghaffar Khan who is excellently informed of the real character of the armed intervention against Afghanistan."

The World Islamic Times of Pakistan carried the following story and interview with Ghaffar Khan in its March 4 issue:

"The Soviet-backed Karmal regime in Afghanistan reportedly plans to assassinate some prominent political personalities and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the veteran Red Shirt leader, will be one of their targets. These apprehensions were expressed by some elders of the tribal areas of the NWFP known as 'Afghanologists.' These tribal elders firmly believe that the tottering Afghan regime wants to divert its people and world attention from the home front and the problem of Afghan refugees... To achieve this end, these observers are of the view that the Afghan Government is trying to create unrest and trouble in the provinces bordering Pakistan. Several attempts have already been made to provoke the locals against the refugees.... Khan Abdul Ghaffar

Khan, who has so far addressed about 300 public meetings in NWFP, has successfully poisoned the city people against the refugees. These elders maintain that these so-called politicians would blame squarely the Afghan refugees for any such political assassination and this would surely result in armed clashes between the local and the refugees... They have also suggested to the Pakistan authorities to arrange for the security of the lives of these politicians. Qaisar Butt specially visited NWFP to interview Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. We are presenting his interview and a verbatim translation of one of his many speeches, leaving for the readers to judge for themselves this pack of contradictions." (Interview and speech follow on next pages.)



The well-known anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist fighter and great Pashtoon leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

(photo: Kabul New Times)

**Question: What is your opinion about the situation prevailing in Afghanistan?**

**Answer:** Afghanistan has completely been destroyed and the country is under the Soviet yokes. In fact, there has now been a revolution in Afghanistan and we Pashtoos are not Communists. I give you the example of Europe where a Communist revolution brought lot of development. But in Afghanistan, the situation is quite different; the country has been destroyed. In fact, the Army took over in Kabul on April 27, 1978 due to some misunderstanding between Army and Sardar Mohammad Daud, the then President of Afghanistan. We cannot say that the Army brought about a Communist revolution because a junta putsch against any government is not a revolution in the real sense. When Hafizullah Amin killed his leader Noor Mohammad Taraki and captured power, he tried to be pro-Pakistan and pro-America. Agha Shahi, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, left for Kabul but due to heavy snowfall his plane could not land at Kabul airport. Next morning, Radio Pakistan announced that Mr. Shahi would be visiting Afghanistan sometime next week. I was in Kabul at that time. Agha Shahi's proposed visit to Kabul was aimed at winning over Hafizullah Amin who had a soft corner for Pakistan and America. Russians were not ignorant of the situation and in turn they overthrew and exterminated Hafizullah Amin. You see, if America had succeeded in this plan it could have reached up to the Soviet borders, and the Russians know that Americans were already strengthening their positions at Chirat, near Peshawar, from where they could have marched into Afghanistan. That is why the Russians militarily attacked and captured Afghanistan.

**Q. If this statement of yours is correct then the Soviet stand that it was the Afghan government which invited them for help would be incorrect. Would you agree?**

A. I am telling you the fact. I don't bother for the Soviet or the America stance. I am neither a Russian nor an American. I want none of them is Pakistan because I am a Pakistani and I would like to remain a Pakistani

**Q. How many people have so far been killed in Afghanistan?**

A. I don't know the exact number but I am told by knowledgeable people that the casualties are enormous. You should go to Afghanistan and see for yourself how the country has been destroyed. I am only concerned about the Soviet threat to Pakistan and you must keep in mind their ultimatum of crossing the Pakistan border if the Afghan Mujahideen are not stopped from attacking them. And this ultimatum is due to Pakistan's inclination towards the United States. Remember Beirut. What happened there? How Americans and Israelis annihilated the innocent people there. America is a friend of Tel Aviv and Israelis are fully supported by America. We have the same situation here. Russians say that Pakistan is abetting the Afghan Mujahideen against the Russians.

**Q. Do you think that Pashtoon will go communists?**

A. I have told you clearly that we are not communists and we can't be communists.

**Q. Are you trying to be a mediator between Pakistan and Afghanistan for resolving the situation?**

A. I don't want to be so. When I was in Kabul, Pakistan did not ask me for such a mission. I had been writing letters to the President of Pakistan who was always very kind to me. Once I wrote to him that if he wanted to resolve the problem it could be done but there I never received a reply.

**Q. What results do you expect of your preaching here?**

A. When I returned from Afghanistan I categorically said that I had come here to serve Pakistan and its people and not for politicking. I believe a country is prosperous only when its people to serve each other but unfortunately Pakistan is backing in it and it is affecting the nation and the country. People in Pakistan do not bother for the country or for the nation. Everyone in Pakistan, rich or poor, is selfish and every citizen is for himself and not for the country or the nation. I

believe in non-violence and as such I wanted to serve the people and this is why that I returned from Afghanistan.

My first duty was to serve my nation, the Pashtoons; Look how they are suffering because of their feuds and bitterness; there is lack of mutual respect, and the same selfishness is prevalent in the whole of the country. If we become one nation, show love, affection and sympathy to each other we would not only be blessed in this world but hereafter also. I told Pashtoons: Look I was in Afghanistan at the time of "revolution". This flood has destroyed Afghanistan and when I felt the water was now following down the Pakistan side I rushed here to caution you against the deluge. I went to Afghanistan when I got annoyed as the people here had blocked my path of "peace and love." Now I am back here and want to talk to you. I pray to God to show us the path and steer us out of the situation so that our coming generations and the country are saved. It is about eight months since I returned from Afghanistan and I had warned the people, my brothers, about coming flood and the rising tide. Perhaps you don't know the Russians have given an ultimatum to Pakistan that it should force the refugees to go back to their home because they are attacking us (Soviets) with the guns they have provided. The Russians have told Pakistan to solve the problem for herself otherwise they are coming. I told my Pashtoon friends if the Russians came here, this area of NWFP would become a battlefield and the land of the Pashtoon would be the main centre of this war. We will be destroyed and completely eliminated. Revolution is a flood and it has both benefits and losses. It can either make a country or destroy it. You know which nation is getting the benefit of this revolution and who is facing difficulties and sufferings. The nations which are not united or lack brotherhood suffer in the course of a revolution and only a nationalist people gets the benefit.

**Q. Can this problem be resolved by bullets or by negotiations?**

A. I have my firm belief that the Afghan problem cannot be resolved with gun barrels and negotiations is the only

solution. I am trying for solution but the Jamat-e-Islami is main obstacle in my way because it is against such a solution. The Secretary General of Jamat-e-Islami lives in Peshawar. I conveyed to him through his friends that I wanted to see him and "if you can come to me it is good otherwise I can come to you" but he responded the gesture with all sorts of Press statements against me. He wants the Afghan refugees to believe that I am a Russian agent. It is an irony that I am called a Russian here and an American in Afghanistan. When I returned to Pakistan I requested a meeting with President Ziaul Haq and I did send a message to him through the NWFP Governor. I was arrested soon after and kept in a hospital. The Governor came to the hospital to see me and asked what I wanted to say to the President. I told him I wanted to tell him two things: — *I should be permitted to launch my movement "Khudai Khidmat" (service to the people) because some people want to create misunderstanding between me and the President.*

*— I want to talk to the President on the issue of Afghardstan and Afghan refugees.*

After some time, the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar came to tell me that the President would meet me in February. I told him that I would not be able to see the President in February.

*Q. Does it mean that you have closed the doors for negotiation?*

A. I never did it. It is the government which has done so.

*Q. Does it mean you still want to meet the President?*

A. Yes, of course, provided I am satisfied that the President sincerely wanted to resolve this problem of Afghanistan.

*Q. What is your opinion about the shuttle diplomacy of U.N. Secretary General's personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez?*

A. In fact Jamat-e-Islami and Afghan leader Gul Badin Hikmatyar is against any negotiated solution of Afghanistan. Do you know Hikmatyar issued a state-

ment against such efforts of the U.N. Secretary General's representative in America. I don't think that such statements were published without the consent of the Pakistani Government. I would like to add another fact here that when the Provincial Governor came to see me in hospital, the Provincial President of NDP Mr. Abdul Khaliq was also present there. He asked the Governor why we are not allowed to meet the Afghan refugees. He said you are allowed but if you are harmed by them I would not be responsible. I said if you would not be responsible then who would be? Anyhow Jamat-e-Islami and the authorities are creating obstacles in my way to meet the Afghan refugees...

*Q. The Iranian Government has also refused to participate in U.N. efforts for a negotiated settlement of the Afghan problem. Was it not another obstacle?*

A. I don't think that the Iranians are against the negotiated settlement of Afghan issue. I would like to draw your attention to a recent statement of Iranian Foreign Minister wishing a negotiated solution of the crisis. I have met some Afghan refugees and I have assured them if they are to go back to their homes their properties would be restored and they would not be put in jails.

*Q. Do you have any mandate by Babrak Karmal or by the Russians to this effect?*

A. No I have no mandate by anyone but when I was in Kabul I protested over the miseries of the Afghan people and I asked Babrak Karmal why the Afghan people were being massacred or uprooted from their homeland. Babrak Karmal and his Cabinet members gave me the assurance that if these refugees returned to homes, their properties would be restored and they would not be put behind bars. I also conveyed similar sentiments to the Afghan Consulate-General in Peshawar and I said, "Look at the miseries of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Was Afghanistan not their country? Once I met an Afghan refugee leader and I requested him to work for a negotiated settlement of the crisis. I offered my services to bring both parties — Afghan

refugees and Babrak Karmal — on the negotiation table. That refugee asked me whether I am for them or for Babrak Karmal. I replied I am for none but my struggle is to find an honourable solution of the problem. When I was in hospital, an Afghan refugee leader with an Afghan doctor and some other refugees came to see me and said the government had stopped our allowances and they wanted us to go back. Do you know the government is receiving large quantities of aid for Afghan refugees and the major portion of it is being misappropriated by Jamat-e-Islami which provides weapons to the refugees to kill their own brothers in Afghanistan. But I tell you why Jamat-e-Islami is against the solution of Afghan problem because the aid worth

million of rupees would be stopped. The corrupt officials are also against the solution of the problem for similar reasons. When I was under detention in the hospital, several people from the Punjab and NWFP came to see me and I told them if the Russians came here, Punjab would not be safe even. I requested the Punjabi leaders to form a Jirga and go to the Government and they press for a negotiated settlement of the Afghan problem. They should tell the Government that this is a war between the Americans and Russians. Our children and our people should not be butchered for their sake.

*Q. It is reported that during your recent visit to NWFP an Afghan refugee called you a liar and accused you of pleading the Soviet case?*

A. The exact position is that when I was addressing a gathering in D.I. Khan, an Afghan refugee from among the audience stood up and said: "Khan Badshah, do you remember when you were in India we requested you to come to our help and save Afghanistan from the Russian oppression. What to talk of I told him that I was in India and had been pleading your case there, but I never knew that you ever came to see me. He was stunned by my reply and left saying Assalam-o-Alaikum.

*Q. If your peace mission is not accepted by the people, would you go back to Afghanistan?*

A. I will not go back to Afghanistan and continue my mission whether it is accepted or not. This is my belief that by serving His creation I will be serving the Almighty. When I was arrested I asked the authorities why I was being prevented from serving the people. Once I was on my way to a village, a Commissioner and a Deputy Inspector-General of Police came to me and said that I could not address a public meeting before I have met the President. The Commissioner was very kind and very nice but the Police official was harsh. I asked the Commissioner why he was taking me to the jail? He said he would not take me to the jail but to my home from where I would be taken to a hospital. I pleaded for my contact with the people as I wanted to inform them about the situation in Afghanistan but I was not allowed to do that.

*Q. Since you claim to be a Khuddai Khidmatgar, why have you restricted your mission for the Pashtoons only. Why not Punjabis, Sindhis and Baluch?*

A. I have no grudge against the Punjabis. I know they love me. Once when I addressed a meeting in Punjab, hundreds of people came to me and kissed my hands. I know Punjabis are also an oppressed class and worse than the Pashtoons. It was in fact the Britishers who stopped me from entering the Punjab and that practice still continues. I hope I will approach my Punjabi brothers soon and I will convey my message of peace to them as well.

*Now we present down below  
a speech made by Ghaffar  
Khan at Mohmand Khel, 10  
kilometers from Bannu.*

*My brothers and friends,*

I express my gratitude for your love and affection that you all of you people, all my brothers have gathered here to listen to me.

Brothers, while I am in your village you must be thinking who I am, why I am here and what I am trying to seek.

So let me introduce myself to you that I am your friend and a Pashtoon. I have come here to see you, to warn

you about a big crisis, a big disaster and a big havoc that the country is going to face in the near future. I have come to tell you that in view of the coming disaster it is a high time that we Pashtoons together, discuss the problem and hold "Jirga" (grand assembly) in a homely atmosphere. What for? The answer is simple. We Pashtoons should sit together to see how can we get rid of this expected critical future. This is the main reason I am here; because you are so dear to me being my own people. When I returned from Afghanistan about 8 months ago and visited you people, I told you to build your home and asked you to be like brothers — sharing love and affection saying goodbye to your prevailing prejudices, hatreds and quarrels and to be one nation and be united. I warned you about a big disaster and a change ahead. I also told you, Brothers, that the change that occurs does have some merits and demerits. Let us find out the main causes of the rise and fall of the nations. The nations practicing brotherhood, fraternity and love does rise but the nations like ours — troublesome, antagonistic, bocked, down in evils, quarrels, hatreds and violence — fall badly such nations meet a common grave and bloody destruction. This was the main intention of coming over here and to tell you that the flood of destruction will wipe you out if you carry on in the present manner. Let me warn you, O my tribe, you may be knowing it or not, that flood is not far away. You are ignorant of it. Your nation is an ignorant nation. Being ignorant of the objective world, everyone of you is greedy, selfish, looking ahead for personal interests and is lusty of "chair" (power) and "money" and is dying for it.

You may be knowing or not, Russia has given an ultimatum to Pakistan asking her to keep the refugees aside, make them behave and if she fails to do, Russia will come to do so.

Brothers! Pakistan is no match to Afghanistan (corrected by audience to mention India instead), no match to India what to talk of Russia. God forbid, if Russians do come Pashtoons shall be ruined. The country shall be at stake and faced with a brutal civil war. The others may or may not but Pashtoons shall suffer to to and will be

finished. That's the reason I've come for, to persuade you to sit together like friends' and brothers in a homely atmosphere to discuss, hold jirga to find the way to avoid the coming destruction.

Brothers! I was in Afghanistan when the revolution dawned upon Kabul. When I came back I had talks with the NWFP authorities. They had a strange notion that I have some Politics motives. But I say I'm not against Pakistan and I'm not blaming the interests of the country anyway I am not involved in agitation, I've no business whatsoever with the Government. The only business I've is with my own people and the home of my people is broken, destroyed, and I only want to build a home for them. But Alas! they don't let me build a home for my people. Let me tell you that the Government doesn't care damn about you! The home of the Pashtoons is destroyed and I want to rebuild it with your consent and help. But when you see the newspapers of the country, for example, Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt and Mashriq, these are the Government papers. Whatever is directed is published by them. What can I say? See Mashriq has published, apart from other matters, that the revolution in Afghanistan was the result of the Russian activity. I was in Afghanistan then. There were no Russians then. All this revolution was that of the Afghan Army. It is written here that Bacha Khan can't see Russia in Afghanistan. Ah, do I tell lies? I never tell lies. Shall I hide it from my own people? I was in Afghanistan at the time of revolution and I saw that the flood wiped out Pashtoons there and I saw the direction of the flood heading this way. I had gone to Afghanistan because I felt that the Pashtoons were not serious about their cause. I was angry with you and I had left you in anger and anguish. Why? Because you had denied the basic principle, the main road and you had fallen astray. You had refused to listen to the truth that I had been fighting for all my life.

The road to success, I believe in, is love and fraternity and non-violence. When you went astray, I left you with the intention never to come back, but when I saw the destruction there and noted that the flood was heading this

way and that after destroying one part (Afghanistan) it intended to destroy the other part (Pakistan), I returned to you, back home, and I've already told you that I've come to chase you, roaming about village to village, street to street, to make you sit beside me and to face the situation and discuss and holding "Jirga" finding the best solution to save our heads.

I never talked about it before but now I'm forced to speak out that if Russians have invaded Afghanistan who has invited them? Pakistan and America have invited them. I was there as an eye-witness to what happened there. Pakistan and America have paved the way for the Russians.

You may ask how? Brothers! When Amin came to power, killing Taraki, he got inclined towards Pakistan and then to America. And you must have heard that Radio Pakistan announced about the visit of Agha Shahi, the then Foreign Minister, to Afghanistan. But there was a heavy snowfall overnight and the Radio regretted next day saying Mr. Shahi would go a week after. It was Ajmal Khatak himself, as you may be knowing him, who was the supporter of Amin's regime, came to see me in Jalalabad when I was sick and admitted in hospital, saying "Bacha Khan; Amin seems to have changed his opinion" and his party was against him for his inclination towards Pakistan and America, being against party policy.

This was the whole story. Party stood against Amin. What does Russia have to do with Afghanistan? If he had come to Pakistan — even for fear of his death — the situation would have been different. He could have been helped out. See, in Charat, nearby Peshawar, Pakistan has provided an air base to America, with Russia being only 500-600 miles away, to be an easy target.

Because of the aggressive, and offensive designs of American and Pakistan, Russia got defensive and came down to Afghanistan to fight it out. Who is responsible now? America and Pakistan, of course.

Pakistan is crying now. Jamat-e-Islami is also sharing the cry, shedding tears. It has colluded with the Government. Because both the Government and the Jamaat are Punjabi oriented.

They don't want Pakistan to be destroyed and are crying aloud. The Mujahideen have come down and the Jamaat is telling them to go back. (Someone from the audience corrected him to call Jamaat as "Modoodies" for this is the real word identified for Jamaat. Right. Modoodies. Look at them they don't recognise Jamaat, they know "Modoodies". They and the government share all the donations donated to Mujahideen. Don't you see? When government gets the aid from other countries, it takes its share first. The Jamaat, which is political party, starts criticising the government, dubbing it as a military one, having nothing to do with politics and say that Mujahideen have come here. Let them be given their share by a political party. And now look at the "Modoodies". After government takes its share, Jamaat gets the left over. When the refugees come here, they give them the rifles and tell them to go back to kill their own brothers. If the Mujahideen agree to it, the government distributes stipends to them but if they refuse to do so, it sends them to the campus where they live in starvation, poverty and miseries.

So this is the truth about it. And now let me tell you about the Russians. They say they are ready to vacate Afghanistan even today but they want assurances that after they move back, nobody should dare capture the vacated areas. They want assurances that the American should not come in their place. Who created this disastrous situation for us? America and Pakistan.

Russians are comming. They have already given an ultimatum but they don't want to sort out the problem at hand.

I met some guests (Afghan refugees) who had come to see me and told them that rifles, guns and violence was not the solution. Whoever thinks the use of power as a solution is a coward. Who does have the guns? We are poor. We can't afford to fight. Yes Americans can do it. But would they like their people to be killed for others? For us?

As a matter of fact this is a war we are just a prey to. Actually it is a war between Russians and Americans. Who is going to die? Who is going to be sandwiched? What a tragedy'.

My guests didn't listen to me. They

said they wanted to go back to Afghanistan. It is their land. They want to till it and earn their living. I said — "Goodbye".

Afghanistan is yours, of course. But Pakistan is not going to let you go back. She doesn't want this to happen because if you go back all the wealths donated to Pakistan in your name will be stopped. Pakistan needs your donation. "Modoodies" want their share in the donations. What a game being played?

I said I wanted to talk to him (Zia). He is the Head of the State. If he doesn't intend to come, I'm ready to go to see him but, And I said to Gul Badin also that it is better to retreat. Violence will not pay. These matters can only be decided through talks. Let us make Afghanistan sit beside us and talk. But nobody listens. Who is responsible for it? Surely America and Pakistan. We are trying hard for peace. Why don't they help us? Who cares for Pashtoons? Be it Pakistan, America or Russia — none is interested in Pashtoons except Pashtoons themselves.

But Pashtoon doesn't want to build their home. He wants to be wandering about, feels "happy" homeless while the others are enjoying over his rights and his money.

When I was in the hospital, all of them including Punjabis, Malaks, Khawaneed came to see me and I told them that Pashtoons are suffering and this country is going to face it soon. I told Punjabis that if the Pashtoons fall a prey they won't be saved. And I told them to go to Gen. Ziaul Haq, the President, to tell him that the war is only between two super-Powers. It is not our war. Why to destroy our property? Why to shed our blood for others.

The war between the two super-Powers may turn out to be nuclear which will destroy everything. What do you know about power? You are sleeping or crazy to get more and more money and chair (power) and wealth.

I have come to seek cooperation of the Pashtoons and when I have fulfilled my duty I shall go my way. You are free to do whatever you like but listen to me, for God sake. Look at you, you are daring and brave and united but, sorry we are weak, scattered and without conviction and we are killing each other for our selfish motives.

Pashtoon and slave are two different and contradictory concepts. We are slaves, not Pashtoos. Look, this area has already faced big crisis in yester year. Ask your elders, British used to be the rulers of this land. A few of us developed a feeling that we were the sons of the land. The land belonged to us but "farangis" were enjoying the wealths of the land at the cost of our blood and labour. We were slaves and started feeling that slavery was against Pashtoos' dignity and a curse of the Almighty. Ask your elders this is not a story; this is a fact. When finally such young men gathered together, all those who became the members of the party pledged solemnly to the Almighty that they shall be peace-loving and shall be against brutality, aggression, exploitation and violence.

Aggression and violence results in cowardliness, while now violence results in love, bravery and brotherhood. Brothers look, for God sake, create that love, fraternity bravery and brotherhood. You are the nation whose story is written with golden words. Are you the same nation. What a past and what a present. Who made this Pakistan? O Pashtoon you created it. Did Punjabis created it? Punjabis colluded with Farangis. Pakistan could never have been dreamt of if it were to be Punjabis to depend upon. When you started struggling against "Farangis" Allah and His Prophet (Peace be upon him) helped you in your sacred cause. Same is the story of independence of India. It was Pashtoos and the Congress who joined hands against Farangis. See Allah, the Almighty, gave you a land independent of all the clutches, government of your own choice and all the wealths but smacker it from you why? Did you ever think about it? No. What we think about is how to slaughter the other - our brother and to exploit him.

We got our land and independence and sovereignty but we couldn't defend it.

Why so? Because we had solemnly pledged to our God Almighty that we are His servants but we didn't keep the promise. We got greedy and started searching for "money" and "power" and "chair". When we got power we misused it and were ruined. Government and power does have merits and de-

merits. As a demerit, it creates a selfish motive and ego saying: "I am the only one." And the "only one snatches it away."

You said you were going to do it for the whole nation. How come you started doing it with selfish motives for your own selves.

Now, starting from a scratch, we have all difficulties and numerous enemies to face and to attain the goal - the lost paradise. We are totally ruined.

The flood and bloody change heading towards us can only be faced and stopped, as I said by love, harmony and brotherhood amongst us. If you hold the banner of love again everything will be straightened out.

O brothers! Pashtoos! In the name of the nation, the country, the land and your own selves, do it. Let us pray. O'God bless us with love, fraternity and brotherhood.

In the end let me thank you again to listen to me with patience.

The 3/1 KNT carried this coverage of the speech:

KABUL, March 1 (Bakhatar).— Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, prominent and militant leader of Pashtoos, has urged all Afghans outside the country to return to their homeland and live there in an atmosphere of peace and security with their brothers.

News published in Pakistani newspapers say that Ghaffar Khan spoke about the unpleasant living conditions of Afghans abroad in a speech in Dera Ismail Khan and said that the Afghans outside their country must not expect anything from the US.

He added that there are such elements are busy collecting money in the name of emigre Afghans.

Ghaffar Khan held the US responsible first of all for the situation in the region and condemned the anti-Soviet efforts of the

He earnestly urged the military regime of Islamabad to stay away from this strife.

The daily Amn, printed in Karachi, has quoted Khan Ghaffar Khan as saying that he considers the present US-Pakistani relations as "fraught with danger."

## ORGANIZER

Andrew Eiva has set up American-Afghan Action (1610 Mt. Vernon Avenue, Suite 5, Arlington, VA 22381 703-683-0595) and was interviewed by Leslie Gelb in the NYT of 5/22. Excerpts follow:

... three years ago, he gave up his West Point commission in the United States Army and went off to secret sites in Afghanistan and elsewhere to train Afghan guerrillas. He was jailed by the Pakistanis for meddling, and is under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for possible violation of the Neutrality Act.

In the meantime, he wrote a Senate resolution introduced by Senator Paul E. Tsongas, Democrat of Massachusetts, calling for more aid to the Afghan rebels and talked a conservative lobbying group into financing his own lobbying operation. The resolution has been cosponsored by 99 Senators, all but Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland, who demurred on the ground that it promised more than the United States would deliver and lead only to dashed hopes for the Afghans...

Mr. Eiva's message is a simple one: Even though he says he knows President Reagan has ordered an increase in the quantity and quality of the ostensibly covert military aid to the guerrillas, he has been out in the field with them and does not see the results. "What I saw was antitank mines without fuses, demolition equipment with parts that don't match, mortars of poor accuracy and range with rounds that are mostly duds, and shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles that aren't effective."

He also contends that the Government of Pakistan is diverting a good deal of the best equipment and arms for itself, a point one Administration intelligence official says is true.

Last week Mr. Eiva opened a one-room office in Alexandria, Va. for the organization he calls American-Afghan Action, although there is no sign on the door...

Paul Weyrich, head of the conservative lobbying group called Coalition for America, thought enough of the enterprise to give Mr. Eiva \$2,000 to open his office, with a commitment of another \$1,800...

Some Late News Items:

Vladimer Danchev (see Chronology 5/24, 25) is reported to be a native of Tashkent "a Central Asian capital whose population may harbor stronger feelings on the Afghan war than their northern neighbors. Sources said that the 35-year-old newsreader had been dismissed from his job and was under investigation..." (Serge Schmemann in the 5/29 NYT)

The Afghans detained in Brooklyn lost to the US Immigration Service (see Chronology 5/5,7) The judge ruled that Immigration had "shown cause." There will be further hearings in June.

The 6/2 NYT reports that Pakistani Pres. Zia, quoted in the FEER, said that Moscow was taking a "very positive approach" to the UN-sponsored talks in Geneva. Zia is quoted: "Perhaps they want to have a let-up, if not in Poland or SE Asia, or Angola or anywhere else, at least in Afghanistan, if the conditions are right." Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan will visit Moscow on June 9 & 10. However, the Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan (NYT 5/30) accused the US of "trying to torpedo" the UN-sponsored peace talks. He made the accusation in an address at the Pakistan Institute of Strategic Studies.

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The next Newsletter will be issued in early October. Since all the news that fits we print, please send items of interest for the next issue to us by September 15. We would also appreciate the names and addresses of people you think would like to receive the Newsletter, plus any comments you have on the publication.

The Afghanistan Forum  
201 East 71st Street, 2K  
New York, NY 10021

# CHRONOLOGY

3/2 - NYT - Soviet-Chinese talks resumed March 1. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is one of the issues standing in the way of the normalization of relations between China & the USSR.

- WSJ - Rebels attacked military installations and the Soviet embassy in Kabul last week.

3/7 - WSJ - Paul Gigot writes that the Soviets are using a "selective scorched-earth policy" in Afghanistan. Villages far from rebel strongholds are ignored; villages in rebel strongholds have been bombed, searched & burned. Diplomats say that Soviet strategy is to encourage civilians to flee to Pakistan & Iran, thus denying the rebels a major source of food & shelter.

- NYT - Indira Gandhi opened the non-aligned meeting in Delhi & called for "early normalcy" of the Afghan situation. She did not mention the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

- Sultan Ali Keshtmand addressed the members of the non-aligned conference. (Copies of his speech are available at the Afghan UN Mission, 866, UN Plaza, NY, NY 10017. Press release 09/83)

3/9 - Los Angeles Times - The non-aligned nations agreed to "paper over" their differences on Afghanistan. Their resolution calls for a political settlement of the Afghanistan problem & an end to foreign intervention there. The resolution does not mention the USSR.

3/10 - NYT - In a new edition of its booklet, "Soviet Military Power," the Pentagon says: "Moscow is unable to control the Afghan countryside or install a regime whose influence extends more than a few miles from major population centers." The report says that the Soviet 40th Army has 105,000 soldiers in Afghanistan; that the USSR is testing a new ground-support fighter plane, the SU-25 (code-named "Frogfoot" by NATO specialists) in Afghanistan. At a press conference, Defense Secretary Weinberger stated: "There's more of Afghanistan that is now under control of the freedom fighters now than when the Soviets started."

MEETINGS AND PROGRAMS - past, present and future; other items of interest

4/11 - Dr. Terry Allen spoke at the University of Michigan on the "Urban History of Bust, Afghanistan."

The 17th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association will take place in Chicago from November 3 to 6, 1983, at the Hotel Continental. Fred Donner and John Woods, both of the University of Chicago, are the program chairman. For information write MESA, Dept. of Oriental Studies, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 86721 (602-626-5850).

ISLAMIC JEWELRY in the Metropolitan Museum - an exhibition of 114 objects from the 8th-19th centuries will be shown at the Metropolitan Museum from April 20 to July 3.

Objects from Afghanistan were included in an exhibition of 20th century Judaic art shown at Lever House (Park Avenue @ 53rd Street, New York City) in March.

The Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies held a conference on Islam, Ethnicity and the State in Afghanistan, Iran & Pakistan in Tuxedo, New York, last November.

Robert Canfield, Richard Newell, Eden Naby and Nazif Shahrani spoke about Afghanistan.

The Nebraska area Returned Peace Corps Volunteers are cooperating with other local organizations in conducting classes for Afghan refugees in the Omaha area.

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service of the CIA has available foreign language officer openings for persons with a strong reading ability in Pashto and Persian. U.S. citizenship is required. Send resumes to Personnel Office, Foreign Broadcast Information Service, P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013.

"The Silk Route & the Diamond Path: Eoteric Buddhist Art on the Trade Routes of the Trans-Himalaya Region," paintings & sculptures from the 7th to 17th centuries, will be on view at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History/National Museum of Man in Washington, D.C. from May 6 to June 30.

"The Heritage of Islam," an exhibition of carpets, textiles, manuscripts, pottery, glass and scientific instruments will be shown at the Smithsonian from June 2 to September 5.

The Returned PCVs of Washington, D.C., held a forum on 3/25 on "Afghanistan: Will the Soviets Leave?" Speakers were Habib Tegey, foreign language broadcaster at VOA, and David McGaffey, former PCV in Afghanistan and now coordinator of political studies at the Foreign Service Institute.

A theatrical adaptation of Abdurrahman Pazhwak's story, "Le Devoir" is being presented at the Theatre de la Cite Internationale in Paris from 4/19 to 6/25. The theater is at 21, boulevard Jourdan, Paris (Tel. 589.67.57).

Firuz Kazemzadeh, Chairman of the Committee on Middle East Studies at Yale, spoke on "The Russians & Afghanistan" on May 17 at the Council on Religion & International Affairs.

The National Council of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers will hold its 1983 National Meeting at the University of Denver Campus in Denver, Colorado, from July 9-10.

Abdul Rahim, political officer for the Afghan Jamiat-i-Islami resistance group, and Col. Moh'd Ayub Asil, a former Afghan police officer now with the resistance, have been in the United States meeting journalists and others giving their views on the Afghan situation. Both were taped on the Barry Farber Show (radio) which will be aired around the country. Their visit was sponsored by the Afghanistan Relief Committee in New York.

Another new book...

IN AFGHANISTAN - AN AMERICAN ODYSSEY by Jere Van Dyk, New York, 1983, Coward-McCann (200 Madison Avenue, NY, NY 10016). 235 pp. \$18.95

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

NEWSLETTER OF BALUCHISTAN STUDIES, #1, Winter 82/83. Ed. by A.V. Rossi and M. Tosi, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Instituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, 1983. 72pp. (in English)

"Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf" by Thomas T. Hammond in SURVEY, a journal of East & West studies, Spring 1982., Vol. 26, No. 2. (Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies, London)

AFGHANISTAN AND THE SOVIET UNION by Henry S. Bradsher, Duke University Press, Durham, NC, 1983. \$32.50 cloth; \$12.50 paper.

"The Conceding of Afghanistan" by David Kline in THE WASHINGTON QUARTERLY (CSIS, Georgetown), Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring 1983.

GUERRILLA STRATEGIES: AN HISTORICAL ANTHOLOGY FROM THE LONG MARCH TO AFGHANISTAN by Gerard Chaliand, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, 1983. \$28.50 cloth; \$7.95 paper.

"Soviet Terror in Afghanistan" by Rosanne Klass and "Soviet Prisoners in Afghanistan" in FREEDOM AT ISSUE, #71, March-April 1983, published by Freedom House.

"Afghanistan is true to the principles of non-alignment," interview with Abdul Majid Sarboland, in NEW TIMES (Pushkin Square, Moscow 103782 GSP), Novosti Press Agency.

"Refugees and International Law" by Margaret Chamberlain in THE FLETCHER FORUM, Vol. 7, #1, Winter 1983. \$4.50. (a history of refugee legislation.)

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LIBRARIES IN AFGHANISTAN by Nilah Ralimi, State Committee of Culture, Kabul, 1983. 357 pp.

STATISTICAL YEARBOOK (for the year ending 3/20/82), Central Statistics Organization, Kabul.

"Victims of Soviet Aggression" by A.B. Rajput in THIRD WORLD INTERNATIONAL (Karachi), Jan-March 1983.

"Russia in Afghanistan - The Tougher it Gets, the Longer We'll Stay (no author given) and "The Two-Edged Soviet Sword in Afghanistan" by Edward Girardet; both in THE MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE JOURNAL, Jumada al-Ula 1403.

"Afghanistan: the Forgotten War" by Edgar O'Ballance in ISLAMIC WORLD DEFENCE: QUARTERLY REVIEW OF ISLAMIC MILITARY AFFAIRS (London), Vol. 2, No.1.

THE DEFENSE MONITOR, Center for Defense Information, 1983 (ISSN 0195-6450) gives the following statistics for Afghanistan: Population 15.3m; GNP \$3.2 billion; military spending \$97m. Guerrilla strength estimated at 90-100,000 although only 20,000 in contact with Soviet troops at any given time. Deaths in Afghan Civil War 1978-1983 - 100,000+ (see also p. 1)

SPECTACULAR VERNACULAR: A New Appreciation of Traditional Desert Architecture; text by Jean-Louis Bourgeois; photos by Carollee Pelos, Peregrine Smith Books, (Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., Box 667, Layton, Utah 84041). 128 pp., 90 photos, 40 in color. \$14.95 paper. (includes Afghanistan)

GENEROSITY AND JEALOUSY: THE SWAT PUKHTUN OF NORTHERN PAKISTAN by Charles Lindholm, Columbia University Press, King's Crown Paperback, 1982. 336 pp. \$14

"Middle East: Progress or Lost Opportunity" by Joseph Sisco in FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Vol. 61, No. 3.

SOVIET POLICY AND PRACTICE TOWARD 3RD WORLD CONFLICTS by Steven Hosmer & Thomas W. Wolfe, Rand Corp. Research Study, Lexington Books, 1983. 336 pp. ISBN 0-669-06054-2. \$23.95.

"Intellectuals et Ulema dans le Resistance Afghane" in PEUPLES MEDITERRANEENS #21, Oct-Dec. 1982.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN by K.S. McLachian & W. Whittaker, Menas Press (distributed by Westview Press), 1983. "This book presents...materials on the

## MORE ABOUT BOOKS

Ludwig Adamec writes that his AFGHANISTAN 1900-1923: A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY and AFGHANISTAN'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE 20TH CENTURY: RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, GERMANY AND BRITAIN are about to go out of print. Copies can be ordered from Prof. Ludwig W. Adamec, Oriental Studies Dept., Franklin Bldg. #80, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721. The books are \$5 and \$4 respectively. Make checks payable to L.W. Adamec. Copies of Adamec's WHO'S WHO OF AFGHANISTAN are available in paperback and can be ordered as indicated above for \$15.

Books on Afghanistan from Brill (41 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LX):

CENTILIVRES-DEMONT, M. Popular art in Afghanistan. Paintings on trunks, mosques & tea-houses. 1976. 4to. (64 p., 36 col. pl., 4 ill.). £19.30  
1 map)

ADAMEC, L.W. First supplement to the "Who's who of Afghanistan": Democratic Republic of Afghanistan 1979. (53 p.) pp. £5.80

KLINKOTT, M. Islamische Baukunst in Afghanistan-Sistan. Mit einem geschichtlichen Überblick von Alexander dem Grossen bis zur Zeit der Safawiden-Dynastie. N.D. (294 p., 7 fold. pl., 172 ill.) (Arch. Mittel. aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 8) pp. £27.80

KEDDIE, N.R. An Islamic response to imperialism: Political & religious writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani. Repr. of the N.D. ed. 1983. (224 p.) £15.00

LEGUM, C. (ed.) Crisis & conflicts in the Middle East. The changing strategy: From Iran to Afghanistan. 1981. (159 p.) (Middle east ser.) pp. £10.95

SAKAI, Seiji. Butterflies of Afghanistan. 1981. 4to. (272 p.) Japaneese, English & some Latin text, 48 p. col. pl., many col. & b/w ill. & maps, bibl., ind.) boxed £93.00

SHAH, A. Tales of Afghanistan. 1982. (115 p.) £6.50

MICHAUD, R. & S. Afghanistan. 1980. 4to. (23 p. introd., 102 col. ill., 1 map) £1.00

NIEDERMAYER, O. von u. E. DIEZ. Afghanistan. Repr. of the 1924 ed. N.D. 4to. (86 p., 246 pl., 12 maps & plans) subscription price £56.00

NETTON, I.R. (comp.) Middle East materials in United Kingdom & Irish libraries. A directory. 1983. (128 p.) £15.00

HYMAN, A. Afghanistan under Soviet domination, 1964-81. (xii, 223 p., 10 pl., 3 maps, ind.) £25.50

Louis Dupree writes that the Saeed Book Bank & Subscription Agency (28 Arbab Road, Peshawar, Pakistan) has an interesting assortment of books on Afghanistan. Some titles are LIFE OF THE AMIR DOST MOHAMMED KHAN OF KABUL (2 vols) by Mohan Lal; AFGHANISTAN OF THE AFGHANS by S. Iqbal Ali Shah; AFGHANISTAN AND ITS INHABITANTS by Henry Riestley; KYBER CARAVAN by Gordon Sinclair; AMANULLAH EX-KING OF AFGHANISTAN by Roland Wild; AFGHANS MEET SOVIET CHALLENGE by Rahman & Qureshi, and AFGHANISTAN & NEPAL from the "Gazeter (sic) of India." Their book lists include prices and readers might want to send for their circular. They also list Pukhto dictionaries by Bellew and Ravery.

A JOURNEY THROUGH AFGHANISTAN: A MEMORIAL by David Chaffetz is available from the Asia Society bookstore (725 Park Ave., NY 10021) for \$1 plus postage.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS continued from p. 21.

history, geography, anthropology and sociology of Afghanistan. Entries include items in English, French & German."

RED FLAG OVER AFGHANISTAN: THE COMMUNIST COUP, THE SOVIET INVASION AND THE CONSEQUENCES by Thomas T. Hammond. Westview Press, June 1983. ca. 250 pp. \$25; paper \$10.

"Sino-Afghan Relations 1949-1978" by Yaakov Vertzberger and "Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan: A Response from Pakistan" by Akbar S. Ahmed in JOURNAL OF SOUTH ASIAN & MIDDLE EAST STUDIES, Vol VI, #3, Spring 1983.

"Islam & Ethnicity: The Northern Afghanistan Perspective" by Audrey Shalinsky and "Breve information sur les réfugiés Kirghiz" by Remy Dor in CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY, Vol. 1, #2/3, November 1982.

"L'Islam en Afghanistan" in LES NOUVELLES d'AFGHANISTAN, No. 12-13, March 1983. (15 FFrancs) Contains articles by Pierre LaFrance, Pierre & Micheline Centlivres, Moh'd. Kazem Fazelly, Oliver Roy, Etienne Gille, Assadollah Mirzapour and others.

SOUTH ASIAN SECURITY AFTER AFGHANISTAN by G.S. Bhargava, Lexington Books, 1983. 208pp. \$23.95

THE SOVIET UNION & THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE 1980S, Kauppi & R. Craig, eds., contains a chapter on Afghanistan by H. Behrens. Lexington Books, Summer 1983. ISBN 0-669-05966-8.

## BOOK REVIEWS

BUZKASHI: GAME AND POWER IN AFGHANISTAN, G. Whitney Azoy, Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. xi + 147 pp., figures, notes, illustrations, index. \$17.50 cloth.

Few things in Afghanistan have drawn as much attention from foreign journalists, explorers, writers, film-makers, diplomats, tourists and researchers as the spectacular and exotic equestrian game of buzkashi. However, a systematic study and analysis of the game and its sociological significance in Afghan society remains problematic. Misinformation, exaggeration, distortion and misunderstandings abound concerning the game itself and its role in the understanding of other aspects of Afghan society. Buzkashi, the first serious, book-length anthropological attempt at a study of the game, unfortunately has done little to alter the problems surrounding our understanding of buzkashi and, particularly, its relationship to power politics in Afghanistan.

In a book entitled The Past Present: A Year in Afghanistan (London: Hodder & Stoughton 1959), an American journalist, Edward Hunter, gave an important reason for the lack of proper understanding of the game of buzkashi. He recounts in a chapter on "Afghan Polo" that his Afghan friends in Kabul kept asking him if he had "seen bushkashee [sic] yet?" When he asked them what it was they told him that it was a game played on horseback "by a pack of wild men who dragged a headless, dead goat around a field, who cracked ribs and broke legs - their own - and generally behaved like savages. 'You just have to see it,' they said. 'It is positively wild'" (1959:97). Hunter later went to see buzkashi games in Kabul and in the northern provinces and was surprised to find buzkashi, in his own words, "to rate among the world's greatest and most exciting sports," filled with thrills, a healthy and enjoyable contest for the youth, no faster than ice hockey and no more dangerous than rugby (p. 113). Hunter concluded that the foreigners and their Afghan informants were equally responsible for belittling and distorting the picture of the game. He noted that

The Afghans, when they spoke to foreigners about the game, did so with eyes gleaming, in the spirit of a Texas cowboy talking to a tenderfoot, and verbal blood and guts poured all over the field. The more the foreign lady recoiled in feigned horror, the more the Afghan painted it on thick. Or they borrowed the air of their alien guests and spoke patronizingly of 'wild men' at play. For each foreigner who used the term 'wild man' to me in referring to the Afghan tribesmen, a dozen Afghans did. When that was what a person went to the game expecting to see, which was usually the case, it was exactly what he did see, of course (Hunter 1959: 113; emphasis added).

More than 15 years later (in 1972), G. Whitney Azoy, the author of the book under review, apparently chose a posting in Afghanistan as a US foreign service officer "for its wild and woolly reputation" (p. ix). Soon after his arrival Azoy was puzzled by what he describes as the Afghan government officials' "perfectly turned phrases, their impeccably pressed suits, and their exquisitely skilled diplomatic manners" (p. x). Some months later, in frustration, he asked one of his trusted Afghan diplomat friends: "How was it possible to be that way all the time, especially in historically chaotic Afghanistan?" (p.x). Azoy was advised by his Afghan friend: "If you want to know what we're really like, go to a buzkashi game" (p. xi). "Greatly intrigued" by his friend's suggestion and determined to see the wild and woolly side of historically chaotic Afghanistan, Azoy apparently quit his diplomatic post, pursued a new career in anthropology and returned to Afghanistan to study buzkashi for his doctoral dissertation (late 1976 to early 1978). Buzkashi is the published version of Dr. Azoy's

thesis and an account of his odyssey to find the meaning of his Afghan friend's cryptic remark.

The focus of Azoy's study, as the subtitle of his book indicates, is "game and power in Afghanistan." A significant way in which the buzkashi game relates to the Afghan society, he claims, is the fact that it is "a commemoration of [their] cultural heritage" (p.3). As the author is undoubtably aware, buzkashi is only part of the cultural heritage of those living in the northern parts of the country - the Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Kazak, Tajiks and Hazaras. The only evidence provided in the book to establish the significance of buzkashi in the cultural heritage of the peoples of Afghanistan, outside of the northern regions of the country, is a reference to the fact that Amir Dost Mohammed Khan, a 19th century Pashtun ruler of Kabul, kept a large stable and was fond of good horses. For a study concerned with game and power, the author is surprisingly silent about the question of why and how the Pashtun rulers of Afghanistan chose (in 1952) to popularize buzkashi, a cultural heritage of Turkic-speaking northern minorities, as a national sport.

Two kinds of buzkashi are distinguished. First, tudabarai, what Azoy calls the "traditional game." This form of buzkashi is less complex, played by very large numbers of horsemen without institutionalized team identities, generally in rural settings during tooi ("weddings and circumcision festivities"). Such games are privately sponsored by local strongmen, the Khans, and the outcome (i.e., scoring) is considered by the author to be "volatile and violent." Second, qarajai buzkashi, on the other hand, is a "modern sport," with complex rules, teams, systematic score keeping and a predictable outcome. Qarajai is sponsored by the government and played during "calenderic, religious and patriotic" holiday festivals (p.7). Predictably, the "traditional game" is also referred to as qaumi ("tribal") while the "modern sport" of buzkashi is called rasmi ("official"). It should be noted that despite Azoy's claim to the contrary, the emergent "sport" form of buzkahsi is not an entirely new invention of the government. A traditional form of qarajai buzkashi has always existed and still continues to be played in smaller events in village contexts where fewer horsemen may be present. In other words, the critical determinants of the choice between the two types of buzkashi during tooi or other celebrations in a traditional setting is the number of horsemen attending the event. It is, then, the traditional qarajai form of the game which has been modified and adopted by the Afghan Olympic Committee as a national sport. Some other ethnographic omissions notwithstanding, the description of how the game and sport of buzkashi is played is the most useful part of the book.

I find Azoy's discussion of relations between the game and sport of buzkashi and political processes in Afghanistan, the principle focus of his study, far less satisfactory. The central argument Azoy advances on the subject of game and power politics is apparently derived from the suggestion of his Afghan friend who told him: "Go to a buzkashi game." Azoy contends that buzkashi serves not only as "a metaphor for chaotic, uninhibited and uncontrollable competition" which characterizes Afghan rural politics dominated by the Khans, and the major phases of Afghan national politics, including the current political and military crisis: but buzkashi also provides "an arena for political process" in both local and national contexts - i.e., tudabarai for local khans and qarajai for the provincial and national government officials. There is little in principle about these contentions with which I would disagree. However, I tend to think that the use of analogies and metaphors, so popular among students of Afghanistan, for social and historical analysis, often produces stereotypes of peoples, institutions, events and practices rather than explain them. The analytical value of metaphors is particularly questionable when they are based on doubtful assumptions about the nature of rural politics in Afghanistan, as is, I believe, the case with Azoy's book.

For Azoy, what makes life in Afghanistan "like buzkashi" ("at least sometimes," but then spectacularly so) is the absence of "truly corporate" groups and institutions which clearly define leadership and authority. Government control, he tells us

...seldom run[s] with consistent force beyond the few paved roads. A truer conception of political life in the countryside is provided by castlelike architecture of Khan compounds with great massive mud walls and great wooden gates....every such household has its own arsenal... Even so, the only reliable hope for security lies, immemorially, in self-help coupled with reputation...and 'the unruly Afghan' remains the critical unit of political structure (p. 25).

We are also told that public affairs in Afghanistan have a "spectacularly bellicose quality" and here

Only by means of success and spoils, the more publicly demonstrable the better, can a man gain reputation and thus authority over supporters... Only against that volatile background, albeit sometimes negatively expressed by foreigners and Afghans alike, can the dynamic of politics by reputation - the relevance of buzkashi to the dynamic - be understood (p. 23).

What makes buzkashi particularly relevant to the dynamic of politics by reputation, according to Azoy, is the fact that

...the locus of authority is a problem at all phases of buzkashi; that this problem is taken seriously by the buzkashi participants [players, sponsors and the larger society]; that this seriousness belies the normative notion that the game is only a game;... if buzkashi...exists as a metaphor for uncontrollability, what better public opportunity could there be for the demonstration of control? (p 20-21).

This peculiar situation then provides Azoy with the impetus for reversing the well-known F.G. Bailey simile of "politics is a competitive game" to "competitive game [of buzkashi] is politics" (p. 17). Therefore, he turns his attention solely to the study of the political arena, "the buzkashi process itself" (Chapter 1) and its principal sponsors, the "buzkashi khans" (Chapters 2 & 3) who compete with each other during "buzkashi tooi" and against the government officials during buzkashi sport (Chapter 4) for reputation, control and authority.

The most serious problem in this study, in my view, concerns Azoy's conception of the notion of Khan and the nature of local political leadership particularly in northern Afghanistan. He has taken Barth's model of the Swat Pathan Khan lock, stock and barrel and applied it inappropriately into the ethnographic context of non-Pashtun populations in northern Afghanistan. The fact that the author has found Barth's model of a Pashtun Khan applicable to the rest of Afghanistan is understandable since it appears that his major informant, host and patron during his field work in Kunduz was a Pashtun Khan, a member of a relatively small but politically dominant Pashtun colony in the region. It is likely that the Swat Pathan model may have been applicable in the case of the Pashtun segment of the population studied, although even this is not demonstrated in this work. However, all recent available ethnographic studies from the Kunduz area (Barfield and Shalinsky), and other parts of northern Afghanistan (Beattie, Canfield, R. Tapper and Shahran) strongly militate against the relevance of a Pashtun conception of Khan among Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Tajiks, Wakhi, Hazaras and other non-Pashtun groups. In fact, among these communities behaviors such as public bellicosity, overt competitiveness, claims to "control and authority," etc., are likely to bring disrepute and shame rather than "name" and reputation. Most Uzbek and Tajik Khans in the north do not live in castlelike compounds, do not keep private mullahs, and they certainly do not have their own arsenals in order to obtain spoils or to defend them (at least not since the turn of

this century). Azoy apparently has chosen to ignore the remark of the Uzbek horseman who told him: "Once we had the power...It's the turn of the Pashtun [sic] now" (p. 12). If indeed the non-Pashtun Khans have begun to behave like their dominant Pashtun counterparts in the Kunduz area, the issue is not addressed in the book.

Buzkashi gave this reader the clear impression that the author has very little detailed ethnographic data on the Uzbeks and other non-Pashtun groups to present. Indeed, much of Azoy's information on Central Asian Khans and the chaotic politics of northern Afghanistan appears to be based more on accounts by Marco Polo and a number of 19th century European (mainly British) explorers than on the more recent anthropological studies in the area. Only two references to recent works on northern Afghanistan can be found in the book. Better ethnographic data on the principal groups playing buzkashi (the Turkic and Tajik people) would have clearly argued that secular local leadership in the form of Khan, Bai, Aqsaqaq etc., are based not only on acquired and contractual loyalties (of the Barthian model), but also on certain categorical loyalties (e.g., kinship, language, ethnicity, sect) as well. It would then have become clear that the most crucial local leadership issue among these groups is not control and ultimate authority, but rather politics of reputation which involve subtle means of exercising influence through persuasion and mutual respect. Also, the fact that local people drew clear distinctions between pretenders to local leadership (those who claimed authority by virtue of their ties to the government) such as arbabs, rais and some "buzkashi khans," and those who took the interest of their community to heart more than their personal access to spoils would have been apparent. The shallowness of Azoy's ethnography is further revealed by such absurd statements as: "With the decline of nomadism, the horse [in northern Afghanistan] no longer exists as an ecological necessity" (p. 14), and that in the Afghan vernaculars "There are...no names for vaguely defined classes [of land owners and landless]" (p. 29). The book is riddled with similar errors of fact and mistranslation and interpretation of native words and concepts. The real difficulty is that little attempt is made to provide quantitative data of any kind on the wealth of Khans, the occurrence of all pervasive violence, even the frequency of buzkashi games played in any given locality. It is not even clear what specific place in and around Kunduz this study took place.

The claim that what happens in a buzkashi game has a direct causal bearing on the political power and authority of its sponsoring Khan is soon discredited by such disclaimers as "it is impossible to measure precisely the effects of... [the conduct of buzkashi] tooi...on the game of real life politics" (p. 81 & 130). Azoy attempts to explain away this problematic issue simply by referring to Turner's formulation of "frame of ambiguity" (p. 130). I have no doubt that buzkashi has a significant role in the dynamics of local political processes in northern Afghanistan but I believe, however, that the relationship between game and power is a dialectical rather than strictly causal. In Afghanistan, it seems that it is the Khans who make buzkashi possible rather than the other way around. The fact is best illustrated (Chapter 4) by the Central Government's decision to produce and sponsor its own games of buzkashi. Here the powerful state attempts to use the game as a vehicle to demonstrate its authority rather than to earn it. But once it is made part of the expected role of the sponsor, the occupants of that status strive to fulfill the role, whatever the consequences. The success and failure in managing a game of buzkashi is, therefore, likely to provide significant information about the styles of leadership rather than make or break leaders (local or national). The two cases of a successful buzkashi tooil staged by an Uzbek Khan and another unsuccessful one by a Pashtun Khan, cited by Azoy, are, I believe, more indicative of the differences in the styles of local leadership between the Uzbek and Pashtun communities than anything else. It is unfortunate that the author's insistence on establishing a causal link from the direction of the buzkashi game to power politics has prevented him from exploring how various styles of local political leadership are unravelled during the process of the buzkashi game.

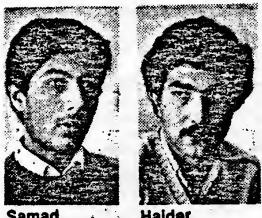
The final chapter of *Buzkashi*. "A Goat Between Two Lions," is an attempt to analyze the current political and military crisis following the Marxist coup of 1978. Not surprisingly, the situation is characterized simply as the greatest buzkashi game of them all. Amidst all the bloodshed, Marxist governments have sponsored annual buzkashi games in Kabul, albeit with fewer teams but with many of the same players and sponsoring khans as before. But the events of buzkashi have also been used as occasions for the Afghan resistance to attack the enemy in the north. Azoy states that in Afghanistan "authority is more than ever an obsessive problem" (p. 141). We learn nothing about the ideological basis or the non-traditional structure of resistance leadership. Rather we are told that the local khans are waging open rebellion against the center and are fighting a war against the Russians. In this great game he concludes:

Virtually all men participate..., some briefly successful; but none can hold the political calf forever. It eludes the grasp and falls to the ground where another cycle starts. Only the sufi stands aside, and few share his sense of deviant clarity !? (p. 141; emphasis added).

I find Azoy's *Buzkashi* to be a testament to Edward Hunter's statement that "...what a person went to the game expecting to see...was exactly what he did see." In this book Azoy has used some important models from the works of such luminaries in the study of play, social drama and the symbolics of power as Bateson, Goffman, Turner, Geertz, Cohen and others. Unfortunately, he has often used them to shape his data more than to explain them. The book raises great expectations, and for a study with a great potential, especially at this time when there is an urgent need for solid data and sober understanding of social realities in Afghanistan, it is too bad that it is such a disappointment.

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Samad

Haider

## Afghans tell small audience about war in their homeland

Only six students and two reporters showed up Tuesday to hear two Afghans talk about the war that engulfs their country, but the young men said they weren't disappointed.

"We are pleased to talk to anyone interested in our country," said Omar Samad, "because what is happening is very important to us."

Samad and Fahim Haider spoke yesterday at Hamline University in St. Paul, one stop on a tour of colleges. They hope to get support for the guerrillas who are fighting the army of the Communist-controlled Afghan government and the Soviet troops supporting that government.

"We need two things," Samad said. "We need (a small missile) to shoot down the MI24 helicopter gunships and we need a worldwide political and economic protest to help force the Soviets to negotiate."

"We know we can't defeat the Soviet Union militarily. But the resistance can make the Soviets bleed, make them send a lot of coffins back home. That will put pressure on their government. That, plus pressure from the other governments in the world, will convince the Soviets that they have to negotiate."

Samad and Haider said they opposed the "brutal actions" of Afghanistan's Communist government, which came to power during a coup in 1978. Both said they were members of the "urban resistance" as teen-agers and were suspect because of their family backgrounds.

Samad said his father was a diplomat before the coup. Haider's father was a vice prime minister and cabinet officer.

Samad and Haider live in Washington, D.C., and work, without pay, for the Afghan Youth Council in America. Haider, 20, drives a taxi and Samad, 21, works for a computer company.

Samad left Afghanistan before the Soviet Union sent in troops to prop up the government. Haider left six months after the Soviet invasion.

"We plan to go back sometime this year as freedom fighters," he said.

Minneapolis Star and Tribune  
Wed., Mar. 16, 1983

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Daily headlines report rallies in support of the decisions of the 10th plenum of the PDPA CC in various parts of the country; party leaders travelling throughout the provinces to cheer on defenders of the revolution and attend jirgahs assembled by tribal leaders; seminars and meetings to instruct people in revolutionary necessities; land given to peasants; warm welcomes given to returning families; miscreants arrested (Gulbuddin is still the most publicized of the unarrested miscreants); attacks on Reagan and US imperialism and at least weekly articles on the havoc wreaked on the country by counter-revolutionaries.

New face? Zohor Razmjo, secretary of the Kabul City Party Committee, is pictured several times each week meeting distinguished guests and attending functions.

12/22 - The Power Ministry and the Brown Boveri Co. of Switzerland signed a contract for a two-turbine thermal power plant worth \$22.39m. The unit will be installed next to the Khair Khana sub-station and will start operations in September.

- The USSR will supply 450,000 tons of petroleum products to the DRA (138.88% more than last year). The USSR has reduced its price by 4%.

- A 10-story residential block, designed by Soviet & Afghan architects, will be built in Microroyan III. The building will withstand an earthquake shock of 9 on the Richter scale. (See p. 31)

- The first session of the commission for coordination of linguistic & literary studies met at the Ariana Hotel.

12/23 - Russia will give the DRA 100,000 tons of wheat and 11,000 tons of flour in 1983. An equal amount of wheat will also be provided on a barter basis. With this "the grain needs of the country is expected to be fully met."

- Shah Moh'd Dost opened a new Afghan consulate in Tashkent.

- Soviets gave 6 mobile cinema units to Afghan film. (see p.37 for article.)

- At a gift-giving in Panjshir, Maj. Gen. Sadeqi told soldiers: "Your decisive & smashing blows against the enemies of the homeland, who are doomed to annihilation, will be recognized in the history of our country in golden letters."

12/26 - Czechoslovakia will sell the DRA \$295,000 worth of cranes and parts to be used to repair electrical networks.

12/28 - New Afghanistan, a pictorial bulletin issued by BIA, made its debut on 12/26. The 1st issue commemorated the 60th "varsary" of the USSR.

12/29 - According to an Education Ministry spokesman: "About 1.5 million students are receiving education in over 4,500 primary & secondary schools. They are being taught by over 45,000 teachers."

- The DYOA has declared Jaddi as a month of patriotic activities by youth all over the country.

1/1 - "Hundreds of thousands of people throughout Afghanistan organized unprecedentedly huge marches and mammoth rallies to voice support for the declaration of the DRA on Wednesday in condemnation of the recent provocative anti-Afghan utterances of Ronald Reagan. The biggest rally was held in Kabul before the US embassy (which is the espionage center of the US here). Over 200,000 marchers converged there after marching through the city streets, chanting slogans against the adventurist, war-mongering policies of the US imperialism and the Reagan administration."

- Afghan & Soviet experts will study the possibilities of diverting the Panj River to reclaim 13,000 hectares of land.

- Albert Scala, an Austrian, and Ziauddin, an Egyptian, were released from prison where they had been serving terms for espionage.

- The 18th anniversary of the establishment of the PDPA was celebrated.

1/2 - A polyclinic was opened in Khair Khana. It can accommodate 500 persons at a time and cost Afs 25m.

1/4 - Zohor Razmjo, sec'y of the Kabul City Party Committee, told Kabul educators: "A revolutionary man should perform the work of 48 hours in 24 hours."

- Saleh Moh'd Zeary met with party leaders, soldiers, religious leaders and elders in Kandahar.

3/10 - DO - Addressing the Pakistan Society in London, Frederick Bennzot stated that nearly 100,000 Afghan freedom fighters had died fighting Soviet troops. He put Soviet casualties at 15,000. There are now 2.83 million registered refugees in Pakistan with 2.15m living in the NWFP.

- The Soviet ambassador to Pakistan says he is optimistic about a political solution to the Afghanistan issue. He said that "he did not see any difficulty from the Afghanistan side which had come out with concrete suggestions to resolve the issue and now it was for Pakistan to respond to them." Moscow had "always expressed its readiness for promoting cooperation and friendship on a plank which could provide a basis for mutually beneficial ties and peaceful coexistence." He said that the key to the solution "lies in direct talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan."

3/11 - NYT - Michael Kaufman reports from the non-aligned meeting in Delhi:

On the issue of Afghanistan, the committee decided late Wednesday, over the objections of the Soviet-backed Afghan Government, to approve an Indian draft urging "a political settlement" of the Afghan conflict "on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops" and full respect for the country's "independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonaligned status."

The section also affirmed "the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honor."

This afternoon, Sultan Ali Kishtmand, the Afghan Prime Minister, said at a news conference that he regarded these statements as an "interference in Afghan internal affairs."

3/13 - Los Angeles Daily News - Andrew Eiva (now president of American-Afghan Action), stated that the US is covertly sending defective weapons to guerrillas fighting in Afghanistan. Eiva recently returned from a trip to the guerrilla area and reported mines without fuses, equipment with mismatching parts, and ineffective mortars. (see 5/10 & p. 19)

3/15 - Hong Kong Standard - An Afghan airliner crashed on a flight from Uruzgan to Kabul on 3/10. Radio Kabul gave bad weather as the cause of the crash in which 19 people were killed.

3/16 - South China Morning Post - Brian Williams writes from Peshawar that spring fighting has started in Afghanistan:

Peshawar, Mar 15.

Muslim guerrillas in Pakistan have started returning in force to Afghanistan for a new and unpredictable year of fighting against the Soviet-backed regime of Babrak Karmal.

The coming spring months are likely to give the rebels their first hard evidence of any change in Soviet policy now that Moscow's new leaders have settled in.

Western diplomats said they would be closely watching events in Afghanistan for clues about wider attitudes under new Communist Party boss Mr Yuri Andropov.

The signs so far are ominous for the guerrillas.

Western intelligence sources have reported significant troop redeployment and re-equipment since Mr Andropov succeeded Mr Leonid Brezhnev as party general secretary in November.

The leadership change coincided with the normal winter lull in Afghanistan's guerrilla war so the full implications of military developments will not be known until fighting starts again in earnest, probably at the end of the month.

But some international relief agency officials in Peshawar, capital of Pakistan's northwestern frontier province, believe a harder Soviet line has already emerged.

The officials, who care for guerrilla wounded, described the past winter as the worst endured by them and their supporters since Soviet troops arrived in December 1979.

Patrols were stepped up along guerrilla infiltration routes on the Pakistan border, trapping some rebels in snow-covered passes.

One relief agency last month treated about 30 guerrillas for frost-bite after they had taken a week to break through troops encircling their mountain top position in the Loghar province.

Western intelligence sources have reported heavier than normal bombing of villages around the Afghan capital Kabul and the second largest city Kandahar, resulting in an unseasonal arrival of refugees in Pakistan.

A rebel commander from the Kandahar area, Mr Mohammad Ismail, said up to 1,000 families a month headed for Pakistan this winter, a time when the refugee exodus usually slows.

Mr Ismail, who commands about 700 guerrillas, is convinced one Soviet priority this year will be to seal the mountainous border with Pakistan, to stop rebels returning and allow major mopping up operations against others who did not leave for winter.

He said infiltration routes had been heavily mined and outposts had been established closer to the border.

Witnesses said small contingents of Soviet troops have for the first time been sighted near the main official border crossing at Torkham at the head of the historic Khyber Pass.

The key question for most Western diplomats is whether the signs of intensified fighting ahead indicate a long-term Soviet aim of achieving complete military victory or a short-term plan to win a strong negotiating position at United Nations-sponsored peace talks.

The indirect peace talks between Afghanistan and neighbours Iran and Pakistan through a UN intermediary resume in Geneva next month when detailed discussions are likely on key points, like the return of nearly three million refugees from Pakistan.

A major hurdle for UN envoy Mr Diego Cordovez is finding refugee representatives acceptable to both sides in the conflict.

Authoritative sources said the Kabul Government made it clear to Mr Cordovez during his recent visit to the region that there was no place for Pakistani-based guerrilla leaders who regard themselves as the refugees' government-in-exile.

Guerrilla leaders believe significant military gains this year would strengthen their case for joining the peace negotiations.

"We need a Tet offensive like the Vietcong staged in Vietnam in 1968," one rebel leader said.

The rebels already claim control most of Afghanistan's countryside and during the winter they staged several spectacular hit and run attacks. In one they blacked out Kabul's power supplies for several days. —Reuter.

1/5 - Mehrabuddin Paktiawal, Pash-tany Tejaraty Bank President, reported that the bank grossed Afs. 441m with a net of Afs 251m during the last Afghan year.

-An official from Da Afghanistan Bank presented the following table of economic information:

Description	1359	1360	1361
(in billions of Afs )			

Domestic gross produce.....	135	137	140
-----------------------------	-----	-----	-----

Gross produce in industrial and power sectors... 28	28	30
---	----	----

Nat'l. income from production..... 92	94	98
---------------------------------------	----	----

Investments in social services..... 1570	1771	3111
--	------	------

Foreign trade circulation (Imports not included)..... 1.3	1.336	1.357
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"Contrary to the claims of the Western circles, the foreign trade of our country with currency exchange zones in the years 1359, 1360 and the 1st half of 1361 have amounted to 526, 513 and 426 million dollars respectively... The claim that the banking system of the country is making efforts to purchase the local currency from other sources is also another lie and no such decision has been taken so far, nor has a need for it been felt yet."

- Another table gives some "Facts & Figures on crimes of counter-revolution from 4/78 - 7/82 in the education sector: School destruction - 1,812 in various provinces at a cost of Afs. 906,000,000. Murdered teachers - 152 - in Jauzjan, Parwan, Bamian, Pakhtia, Takhar, Nimroz & Badakhshan Provinces only."

1/6 - Over 40,000 children have joined the Young Pioneers Organization over the past 2 years. Pioneer groups have been created in all elementary and secondary schools.

~8,000 tons of improved seed will be distributed to farmers for fall sowing. 5,000 tons come from the USSR; the rest is from local farms & cooperatives.

1/8 - The German Democratic Republic will send lecturers in journalism to the DRA under an agreement signed last week.

- Elders & intellectuals from Ghor, Bamian, Badakhshan, Wardak, Parwan, Kandahar & Helmand Provinces left for a friendly tour of Islamic centers in the USSR. (The group returned on 1/18).

- An agreement to construct oil storage tanks at Puli Khumri was signed by the DRA & the USSR.

- The 6th plenum of the DYOA opened 1/6.

1/9 - The provinces are resounding to anti-Reagan marches & rallies.

- The Aho Footwear Factory has manufactured 131,133 pairs of shoes "of different designs and sizes" during the last 7 months of the current year. The factory is one of the 3 largest enterprises in the private sector and has 400 employees.

1/10 - South Zone Chief Abdul Haq Olomi reports that life is normal in Kandahar and Helmand "in spite of propaganda, conspiracies and interference of reaction & imperialism."

- In Mazar-i-Sharif, a Bakhtar survey reveals "abundant availability of foodstuffs at cheap prices."

- A new drinking water storage tank was inaugurated in Bakhtyaran village. It will supply water for 10,500 persons and cost Afs. 1.4m.

1/11 - The Kokcha River bridge, destroyed 3 years ago, has been rebuilt.

- The Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital has treated 111,650 patients in the last 20 months. The facility has 220 beds ..."enough beds for patients being treated free of charge as well as a limited number of rooms for rent" at rates of from Afs 75 - 300 for 24 hours.

1/12 - A man named Hashim entered the Peshawar office of Burhanuddin Rabani and fired at him. Hashim was arrested by Pakistani authorities but two men were killed and one wounded.

- The earthquake in Baghlan on 12/15 resulted in 515 deaths, 2,970 wounded, 6,994 houses destroyed and 20,241 cattle killed, according to the official survey.

1/12 - More facts & figures of damage caused by the counter-revolutionaries:

In Logar & Bala Murghab - hospitals & health institutions amounting to Afs 100,000,000. Losses to central health centers, rural water supply projects and the malaria campaign - Afs 2.4m. 104 health centers have been "made inactive."

1/13 - Dr. Sayed Amir Sher Zarah was appointed general president of the Bakhtar Information Agency.

- 1,600 members of the Herat DYOA have voluntarily joined the security forces.

1/15 - 20 graduates of the Banking Institute have been employed in the central banks. (The total class was 20.)  
- A scientific laboratory for research on building materials was opened at the Polytechnic Institute.

1/16 - A goods exchange protocol was signed yesterday by Czechoslovakia & the DRA. Export volumes will increase 20% over 1982. Afghanistan will export wool, cotton, raisins, nuts & fruits, & carpets and will import motor vehicles, tires and household items. Czechoslovakia will also loan the DRA \$30m related to the economic cooperation agreement both countries signed in 1980.  
- The foundation stone of a 300-worshipper mosque was laid in Faizabad.

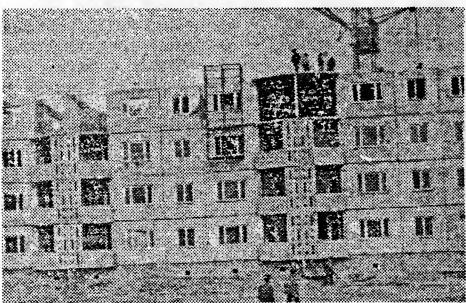
1/17 - The Banai Construction unit (given "serious attentions" by the DRA) has completed the Soviet House of Sciences, the 200-bed Kandahar hospital, the Afghan Films administration bldg., the petroleum deposit project in Logar, as well as several residential projects during the past 6 months. The Unit also "has a valuable role in the construction of the 25-year master plan of Kabul city. All construction work in the Kabul city will be done in the future, according to the master plan, by the Banai Construction unit... Projects worth less than Afs. 10m are considered non-economic for the unit." (See 2/21)

- 150 of the Hadda Farm's 1200 workers have organized self-defense groups. "From the produce of the farm, some quantity of lemon & sour oranges have been sold to the local markets to meet the needs of the people. The remaining is exported to the friendly country of the Soviet Union bringing in a considerable sum of foreign currency."

1/18 - "The main reason for recent recurrent power failures & interruptions in power supply in Kabul is the blowing up of a number of high power transmission structures & the 110,000-volt power transmission lines by the counter-revolutionary elements." This sabotage has taken place 12 times. "The main reason for the shortage of petroleum is subversive acts of the counter-revolutionaries."  
- The Jangalak Factories (southwest of Kabul) gained first place in the "work emulation drive."

1/19 - Petroleum products are now available in sufficient quantities. A number of hoarders were arrested.

- The Puli Charkhi Woolen Factory earned Afs 76m last year. It has 551 employees.  
- The Joint Stock Company donated 1,000 bars of "Gul" soap to the Watan Nursery.  
- Diplomas were awarded to the 3rd batch of graduates from the Diplomacy Institute of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. Shah Moh'd Dost wished the graduates further success in their duties.  
- The German Democratic Republic "gifted" 10 tons of medicine, musical instruments & toys to the DRA.



The new-type residential houses built in the Third Microroyan.



Montage work in progress at the Third Microroyan. (See 12/22) KNT 2/5

1/20 - The decree on Insignia of the Saur Revolution and Rewards for Service & Addendum #12 of the Income Tax Law were published in the Official Gazette.  
- West German citizens have set up a "public organization" to promote better relations between West Germany & the DRA. Roderich Wasner is chairman of the board of the Center for Information about Afghanistan in Bonn.  
- In the current year 25 of the 160 students in the Polytechnic Institute's literacy course were graduated.

- The cornerstone for a research complex for breeding karakul sheep was laid in Balkh. The two-unit complex will cost Afs. 5,200,000 and each unit will house 500 sheep.

1/22 - Dr. Anahita opened an exhibition of photos, paintings and handicrafts by Soviet artists. The Kabul exhibition will last a week.  
- The Baghlan Sugar Factory showed a profit of Afs. 19.8m last year.  
\_ Kabul's industrial workers are offering essential commodities at 20% lower prices than the market rates through their two cooperatives. Sales have increased greatly.  
- 500,000 litres of oil were distributed to consumers and the "consumer's needs are being met adequately." Authorities also arrested Barat Ali who had hoarded 16,000 gallons of fuel in 31 barrels.

1/23 - 80 nurses graduated from the Midwifery and Nursing School this year according to Health Minister Nabi Kamiar.  
- Bakhtar reports that the assassination attempt on Mujaddidi (see Vol. XI, No. 2) was made by Gulbuddin's men.  
- Another 500,000 litres of fuel oil were distributed and 38,000 litres of hoarded fuel were confiscated by authorities.

1/24 - Most of the 140 schools in Kunduz (destroyed by "obscurantist hirelings") have reopened. "Now more than 15,000 pupils including girls and boys are busy with their lessons in Kunduz city."  
- A "spurt in publication activity" has resulted in the printing of 220 textbooks in an "edition of 73,000 copies."  
- This year the Polytechnic Institute will present 184 "qualified engineers in different professions to the society."

- Interior Minister Gulabzoy opened a new teaching and dormitory center at the Police Academy.  
- "Pashtu Leeklar," a book by Majawar Ahmad Ziar, was published recently. "The work is attractively designed and is of 270 pages."

1/25 - The football match between the Armed Forces Sports Club and Kabul Univ. ended in a draw. Each team will hold the championship cup for 6 months.

1/26 - Budget surplus (see article on p. 39)  
- The handicraft promotion & export center has participated in 8 international exhibitions since 3/20/82.  
- "Diplomas for the successful completion of the art film, Kaifar...were distributed to the workers & actors...The film was made for television in 15 days."

1/27 - A delegation from the Communist Party of Bulgaria has been visiting Kabul and meeting with PDPA leaders.  
- AFSOTR won 1st prize in the competition among transport and industrial institutions in the 3rd quarter of the year.

1/28 - Over 16,000 students are being educated in Herat Province. Almost half of the destroyed schools have been rebuilt and "now 32 schools are functioning only at the center of the province."  
- A "Political Unity Day" was held in Ghazni.

1/30 - "A French citizen, Ogayar Fillip Jean Marriet," has been arrested recently "during mopping up operations in Logar,"  
- A seminar on "revolutionary legality" opened in Kabul.  
- The Department for Combating National Disasters has distributed over Afs. 87m during the 1st months of the current year.  
- "As many as 1470 schools and government establishments, 30 hospitals & clinics, 53 big and small bridges and tens of libraries and mosques have been set on fire. In the North Zone the counter-revolution has destroyed the hospitals of Samangan & Aqcha and 7 health centers have suffered losses.

1/31 - Since 3/82 over 1 million karakul pelts have been exported to London, Leipzig and Leningrad.

2/1 - "Higher Education Records Big Expansion. Universities have admitted over 18,000 students and produced about 7,000 graduates since 1977."

2/2 - An agreement on the use of the Oxus River bridge at Hairatan was signed by the USSR and the DRA.

- Sultan Ali Keshtmand stated: A cultural revolution must follow the social revolution in the country. This is why the first steps for a new system of education have been taken and revolutionary efforts are being made without haste to implement this cause."

- Karmal and others hold talks with the visiting Indian Foreign Secretary on the forthcoming non-aligned meeting.



Sultan Ali Keshtmand

2/3 - A children's theater will open soon. Talented school children will perform plays for other children under the sponsorship of Afghan Nendari which has established a faculty for acting at Kabul University. Afghan Nendari also has plans to establish a puppet theater, a circus and a dance ensemble.

- The Afghan CART Company's wholesale and retail export-import operation's sales amount to US\$5m/day. The "giant and profitable joint stock company" plays a large role in "stabilizing the prices of primary goods in the market."

2/5 - Afghan-Nichi, a joint DRA-Japan trading company, was established.

2/5 - The Milli Bus Company will expand trolley bus lines to the Khairkhana Mena and Darulaman regions. 540 buses are currently running and 200 more will be added. The expanded service will begin next year.

2/7 - Afs 800m worth of fertilizer has been distributed to the peasants.

2/8 - A special commission has been formed to "make arrangement for a more glorious celebration of the traditional Red Tulip Festival" in Mazar-i-Sharif. The Commission will be responsible for the decorations and for control & security measures.

- Over 2,345 students are studying at the State Medical Institute. The Institute was established in 1979 and began functioning in 1980.

2/10 - The Politburo of the Central Committee met yesterday. Among other things the group endorsed the Council of Ministers' decision to increase the price of raw cotton 60% and sugarbeet 40%. (Cotton goes from Afs 17.4 to Afs 27.8/kilo.)

- The second production of the Children's Theater opened at the Soviet House of Science and Culture in Kabul.

2/15 - Addendum #2 of the Armed Forces Courts Law & Addendum #1 of the State Enterprises Law were approved & will be published in the Official Gazette.

- The new city of Sharana has been selected as the capital of Paktika Province.  
- Over 600,000 people are enrolled in 30,000 literacy courses in the DRA. There are about 27,000 teachers & supervisors conducting the courses.

- The Kokcha bridge has been repaired. (Again? - see 1/11)  
The Kwaja Alwan Farm, destroyed by bandits, will be reactivated. The farm is north of Puli-Khumri and will produce sugar beets and cotton.

2/16 - Afghanistan is exporting carpets to 36 countries. The main markets are the Federal Republic of Germany, England, Switzerland & the Gulf. About 150,000 families are employed in carpet weaving.

- A new girl's school is being built in Sayed Noor Moh'd Shah Mena in Kabul.  
- The mortgage & construction bank lends Afs 100,000 to "every deserving borrower who constructs or repairs his house." The interest rate is 8% & loans are available

to those who have been in government service for 5 years or have completed their military service. A "guarantee on the payment of installments by a creditable source" is also needed.

- The 1st issue of "Message of the Homeland" (De Watan Paigham), a joint publication of the Ministry of Higher Education and the DYOA has come out. "The magazine reflects the important political, economic & social events of the country & will play a tremendous role in training the students of the country in the spirit of patriotism & love for the work & suffering man."

2/17 - New laws adopted: public health, travel & stay of "foreign citizens" in the DRA, national archives, state & veterinary services. Also a "decree complementing the decree #2 of 1/20/80 concerning military ranks in the armed forces," a resolution about publicizing laws & state regulations through mass media, & the 3rd addendum of the law of the special court.

- Noor Ahmad Noor opened the 6th plenum of Afghan Trade Unions.

- Contracts to implement agricultural projects in Kabul, Balkh & Nangarhar Provinces were signed by the USSR & the DRA.

- Soldiers of the 4th security zone in Kabul donated 35,000cc of blood to the Military Academy Hospital.

- Baghlan rice & onions will be on sale (41% & 21% off the market prices) during the 5th anniversary of the Saur Revolution at the Peasant's Cooperative Union. Garlic will still be Afs 209 for 7kg.

- A mobile post office is operating in Kabul.

2/19 - A "police art group" won the championship cup in the "Festival of Revolutionary Songs."

2/20 - 150 people are learning new skills in the Kabul Institute for the Blind.

- Wheat yields are up 10,000 tons over last year & agricultural conditions are good. Over 3,725,000 hectares of land have been brought under cultivation but prices of sugar beets & raw cotton have been raised 40% & 60% respectively "to help the farmers."

2/21 - The Banai Construction Unit made Afs 32m profit in the past 9 months.

2/23 - Blood worth Afs 600,000 has been distributed free to patients. A new blood bank is being built.

2/24 - The Foreign Ministry refutes rumors "spread by the Western news media about the DRA government having allegedly agreed to UN representatives to having talks with ringleaders of the bands of miscreants in Peshawar." The DRA "will never agree to talks in any way with the enemies of the revolution..."

- During the current year the National Archives has bought "350 calligraphed manuscripts, 139 historical letters & 259 historical documents. ... Over 100,000 persons have practically used the Kabul Public Library during the current Afghan year."

2/26 - A new National Art Gallery is to open:

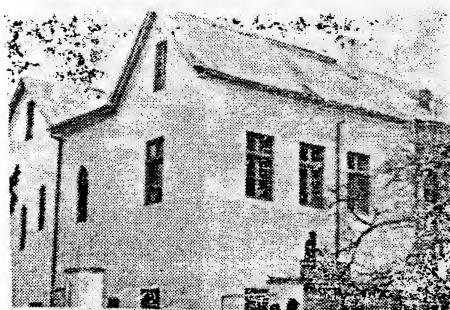
Over 400 national tableaux, which depict a century-long history of the culture of our homeland, will be put on display in the National Gallery soon.

This was stated by Dr Rafiq Yahya, president of the art department of the State Committee of Culture, in an interview to the Kabul New Times.

"Our country was lacked an art gallery, but, after the victory of the Saur Re-

volution, especially its new and evolutionary phase, the establishment of the gallery was considered a must therefore, its construction is underway and it will be opened soon."

Four hundred masterpieces of Ghulam Mohammad Maimaniagz, Master Abdul Aziz, Ustad Brishna and others will decorate the halls of the gallery. They are to be restored and washed by experts right now", he said.



The National Art Gallery.

2/27 - The Khan Abad Irrigation project in Kunduz is 90% complete. Over Afs 400m & \$9m have been spent so far. Over 30,000 hectares of land on both sides of the Khan Abad River will be irrigated. A power station will be built.

- And then there is this factory:

The Kabul industrial park, located in Pule Charkhi covers a large area where a good number of industrial projects have mushroomed in the interest of the industrial development of the DRA.

Among many factories there, the signboard of the Afghan Everest Cartoon-making Factory drew the attention of the Kabul News reporter. He went in and saw workers busy at their work. Finally he found his way to the person in charge of production. This re-

porter asked him about the factory and its activities.

He said: "The factory has been set up with an initial capital of 20 million afghanis. The main objective of the factory is to meet orders for cartoons by the national productive firms, especially those firms which are engaged in export or raisins and dried fruits".

There are 20 machines installed for making cartoons. The production capacity of the factory is 700 cartoons for the current Afghan year.

2/28 - A number of army heroes were presented the Order of the Red Banner by Babrak "in appreciation of their valuable services in defense of the Saur Revolution."

- A contract for the purchase of 40,000 tons of sugar was signed by the USSR & the DRA. The DRA will receive an additional 10,000 tons of sugar gratis.

- Two bombs exploded in the Microroyan market killing 3 & injuring 10 passengers on a Milli bus.

3/1 - A 10-day seminar on the Supreme Court began at the Intercontinental Hotel yesterday to discuss "judicial justice & the sovereignty of the law in the courts." Ali Keshtmand said that all citizens of Afghanistan are equal under the law - in all courts, including "special courts" and cited "the legal and democratic trial of counter-revolutionary elements in the Special Revolutionary Court" as an example.

- The 1st course in "progressive journalism in radio" opened 2/27.

- Afsotr earned Afs 238m last year.

3/1 - Four new fire stations will be built in Kabul. During the past year, the Central Fire Brigade extinguished 288 fires; saved 60 people; and surveyed 84 institutions - giving fire prevention instructions.

3/3 - The new Balkh Textile Mill produced 109,000 meters of white & 91,000 meters of colored cloth plus 54,700 kgs. of thread for earnings of Afs 7,160,000 last year.

3/5 - Keshtmand met with Indira Gandhi & Indian president Zail Singh at the non-aligned meeting in Delhi. Shah Moh'd Dost met with the FMs of Vietnam, South Yemen, Angola and Grenada.

- Gen Abdul Qadir returned from a visit to Moscow.

- Kabul has 19 kindergartens & 5,650 children are enrolled. Over 18 kindergartens are operating in the provinces with an enrollment of 1500 children.

3/6 - "Keshtmand's talks in Delhi arouse interest" is the headline. The story says that his photo and reports of his speech (at the non-aligned meeting) appeared in the Delhi press.

3/7 - The law governing prison conditions was approved. Its major objectives are "ensurance of personal discipline & preparation of prisoners for useful social work & observance of laws, traditions & other norms of moral & social life to guarantee their non-return to lives of crime."

- Saleh Moh'd Zeary conveyed Karmal's greetings to the workers at the Spinzar factory while on a general tour of Kunduz. "After hearing reports Zeary issued some necessary instructions to the incharges."

- A 15-day seminar on preventive medicine opened yesterday in Kabul.

- A handicraft exhibition to honor Int'l Women's Day opened in Kabul.

- The repair of the Ajmir Canal was completed at a cost of Afs 1m.

3/8 - Dr. Anahita "voiced Afghan Women's peace aspirations" on Int'l. Women's Day which was celebrated throughout the country. A number of women were released from prison.

3/9 - A new farm station is being built near Mazar-i-Sharif. Its cost of Afs 139m will be furnished by the state with a \$2m credit from the USSR.  
- The Banzi Bridge on the Kunduz-Takhar highway has been repaired.  
- Ariana flew 18,000 passengers in the last 9 months.  
- The Red Crescent gave over Afs 80m worth of assistance to the needy last year.

3/10 - Karmal met with elders from Badakhshan; Zeary is still visiting "in-charges" in Kunduz; Abdul Majid Sarbiland returned from a visit to Kampuchea.  
- Over 260 "ex-chiefs of bandits" have joined the side of the DRA. "Leaders of the disillusioned armed groups will get to know better the measures taken by the Party and State for the welfare of the working people."

3/14 - The DRA opened a new embassy building in Delhi; Laos & Nicaragua will establish diplomatic relations with the DRA at the ambassadorial level.  
- 55 slogans suitable for celebrating the 5th anniversary of the Saur Revolution. A few examples:

Auspicious be the 5th anniversary of the Saur revolution.  
Honor to the Saur Revolution which opened shining horizons of prosperity & progress before the toiling people of our country.  
Honor to the reddened coffins & epic-making martyrs who sacrificed their sweet lives in defense of the.....  
Honor to the DRA's Government  
Honor to the young working class  
Aware & progressive intelligentsia: use your capacity, knowledge & strength in realizing the sacred aspirations of the Saur Revolution.  
National capital holders: play your part in consolidating the gains of the SR & increase your investments in the national economy. (!)  
etc....

3/15 - Philipp Augoyard, "a French citizen," was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment for "entering Afghanistan illegally for espionage activities and collaboration with the counterrevolution."

3/15 - The 2nd Film Festival, "The Dove of Peace," was inaugurated to mark the 5th anniversary. It will run for 2 weeks at the Park Cinema.

3/16 - A 200-bed hospital is being built in Herat.  
- The 1st plenum of the Young Pioneers Organization opened in Jalalabad.  
- 42 journalists received certificates from the PDPA Social Science Institute.

3/17 - The Cultural Statistical Office published "The Economic & Social Indices of the DRA." The book "portrays the social & economic situation in the country from the beginning of the revolution til the end of the year 1360 HS."  
- A 16-chapter book on "History of National Jirgahs in Afghanistan" was published by the NFF. It gives a history of jirgahs, ways of holding them & accounts of decrees issued by "jirgahs of earlier times."  
- 50 religious leaders left yesterday for a tour of the Soviet Central Asian Republics.  
- "Over 100 private production enterprises are members of the Association of Private Industries of Afghanistan."



# Afghan film products project truth of revolution

The Afghan Film Department has exceeded 50 per cent of its plan target only during the 10 months of the current year.

The feature, documentary and newsreel films, screened by the mobile cinema units of the department, have been seen by over 1,800,000 people in the capital and provinces of the country.

This was stated by Dipl Eng Khair Mohammad Mahmoud, vice-president of the department, in an interview with Kabul New Times.

He added: "The department not only plays its artistic role in the making and production of feature, documentary and newsreel films, but it is consistently carrying out its historical mission as a major part of the mass information media of the Government of the DRA in the cause of implementation of the lofty and humane objectives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the aspirations of the glorious Saur Revolution, and particularly its new and evolutionary phase. It also discloses the inhuman character of the local and foreign enemies of

the revolution by making and screening feature and documentary films".

The department has succeeded in making seven feature and 12 documentary films and 45 newsreel programmes during the current year.

One of the feature films produced during the year, is a film named "The Hot Summer in Kabul", with Afghan and Soviet film stars in the capital and provinces. It will be screened on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the Saur Revolution af-

## A Staff Reporter

ter the montage work.

Another of its feature film is "The villages are awakening", made during the current Afghan year, and it was screened on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the revolution in the capital and provinces.

This film received a diploma in the film festival held in Tashkent with the participation of the countries from Asia, Africa and Latin American continents.

Another short feature film titled "The Land of To-

tal Saur Revolution. films named "My Love, My Homeland" and "Sin" will also be completed shortly and be exhibited in the country at the end of Afghan year.

Answering a question, Eng Mahmoud said: "In addition to these feature

films, the department has also produced documentary films such as "Excerpts from the Events of the Saur Revolution after its New and Evolutionary Phase", "The Fourth Anniversary of the Saur Revolution", "The Nationwide Conference", "At Whose Order the Ticker is Pulled", "The Visit of the High-Ranking Party and Government Delegation to the GDR", "The Handicrafts", "The Ensurance of Freedom of Religion in the Light of the Saur Revolution", "The Commissioning of the Friendship Bridge over the Amu River", "The Visit of the High-Ranking party and DRA Government delegation to Hungary", "The Voice of Peace", and "The Visit of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and the RC President, to the Ancient Herat Province".

Talking of the newsreel films, the vice-president of the department said: "The department has also made necessary endeavours for the production of newsreel films during the current Afghan year, too. And, during the 10 months of the current year, it has produced 45 newsreel films. For example, the department produced a film concerning the ceremony of Haj pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia which was screened through the cinema houses of the capital and



A scene from the feature film, "sin".



A scene from the film, "My Love My Homeland".

provinces by our compatriots. This film shows that necessary facilities are being provided by the DRA Government for the exercise of rights and performance of the rituals of our compatriots".

Speaking of the import of feature and documentary films, the vice-president said: "The department has imported over 100 films from different countries such as the Soviet Union, India, Iran and West European countries and these films are mostly of the sizes of 35 and 16 mm. And, these films have been screened through the cinemas of the country. Of these films, 45 are feature films, 19 sports films from the friendly Soviet Union."

Answering another question, he said: "During the current year, the department, through its 16 mobile cinema units, has screened 130 feature films, 24 programmes of documentary films and 50 programmes



A scene from the film, "Victory Is Ours".

of newsreel in 25 provinces including the districts and subdistricts in order to enlighten the public. And, these films have been seen by over 1,800,000 compatriots in these localities. The

number of the mobile cinema teams will be increased to 25 in the coming year and the service will be considerably increased next year."

Speaking of the training of professional personnel in cinematography, he said: "During the current year, six employees of the department have been sent to the Soviet Union for training in film-shooting, montage, sound-taping and laboratory techniques and three others were sent to Bulgaria and they have returned with sufficient qualifications and are now busy with their work."



A scene from the film, "The Villages Are Awakening."

The department has in mind to train more personnel in the field of the secondary and higher education level by sending them to the friendly countries, so that these personnel can be at the service of their compatriots after learning their profession. Likewise, the department, in the near future, will import its needed technical instruments and necessary machines, so that it can screen foreign films with dubbing in national languages.

**KABUL, January 26 (Bakhtar)**— The surplus in the Budget testifies to the fact that the process of social and economic development in Afghanistan is a continuing process, according to the Haqiqate Enqlabe Saur, organ of the PDPA CC.

The main reason, which has led to the budgetary surplus is the rise in the revenue sources despite the undeclared war and other subversive actions of imperialism against the country, it says.

The revenues have increased by over 15 per cent in 1980 when compared with 1979 and by over 32 per cent when compared with 1978.

The share of the domestic sources in the revenue of 1980 is over 66 per cent higher than that of the preceding year and about 60 per cent higher when compared with 1978.

Revenues accruing to the state from credits and gratis consumer goods assistance have also risen in 1980-81. This rise is due to the ever-further participation of friendly countries in financing the state expenditures in order to further meet the needs of the people.

The total revenue of the state amounted to over 35,000 million Afghanis in 1359 HS (March 21, 1980 to March 20, 1981), which is 3.5 per cent higher than envisaged in the plan.

As much as 56.9 per cent of the state Budget in 1980 was composed of ordinary expenditures and 43.1 per cent of development expenditures. The share of development expenditures in 1980 was about 9 per cent higher than in the preceding year.

In 1360 HS (March 21, 1981 to March 20, 1982) the total revenues of the state amounted to over Afs 40,000 million, over 29,000 million Afghanis of which came from domestic sources. The revenues from domestic sources in 1360 indicate an increase of 90 per cent and 14 per cent when compared with two preceding years respectively.

In 1360, 33.53 per cent of the total state expenditure was allocated for development and 66.41 per cent of it for regular expenditure. The allocated development expense in 1360 was 6.6 per cent higher than that of its preceding year.

Although Afs 3.2 billion have been spent for assisting the working people, state employees and in the sphere of social services since 1980, the state Budget has shown a surplus of over Afs 3,000 million in 1980 and 650 million in 1981.

#### RAISING THE INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT KNT 2/9

**KABUL, February 9 (Bakhtar)**—The industrial production in the country was worth Afs 53,883,027 million from the beginning of Saur Revolution up to the first half of 1361 HS.

BIA, quoting daily Haqiqate Enqlabe Saur, says that, despite the undeclared war of imperialism and the subversive acts of the internal reaction, industrial production is continuing without any let up.

After the revolution, the industrial production consisted of: natural gas worth Afs 34,992,272 million, condensate worth Afs 95.170 million, crude oil worth Afs 26.87 million, urea fertiliser worth Afs 3,519.785 mil-

lion, liquid ammonia worth Afs 16,790 million, industrial oxygen worth Afs 15.87 million, Ghori cement worth Afs 767,023 million, cement worth Afs 99.726 million, chinaware worth Afs 4,420 million, metallic products of the Jangal factories worth Afs 767,277 million, wooden objects worth Afs 495,735 million, ginned cotton worth Afs 6001.416 million, woollen yarn worth Afs 123.83 million, textiles worth Afs 5,023,191 million, woollen textile worth Afs 301.555 million blankets worth Afs 92,524 million, non-diet products worth Afs 265,354 million, carpets worth Afs 35.706 million, vegetable ghee worth Afs 1,399.665 million, sugar from the Baghlan factory worth Afs 380.965 million, conserved fruit worth Afs 46,876 million, soap worth Afs 71,990 million, toilet soaps worth Afs 2,811 million, food material products worth Afs 72.65 million, and alcoholic products worth Afs 134,950 million.

According to Haqiqate Enqlabe Saur, during the period since the revolution, the dairy project has been re-equipped at a cost of Afs 95 million. The construction of the Jar Quduq gas project for the separation of sulphur from gas was equipped at a cost of Afs 4,950,780 million, the Khwaja Gogerdak establishments have been constructed at a total cost of Afs 921,425.

The gas pipeline was extended upto the Soviet border at a total cost of Afs 265,322 million. The new mechanical bakery of Kabul was set up at a cost of Afs 388,266 and the Kandahar Woollen Textile Mills were completed and began functioning.

The Kandahar mills and Herat Textiles will soon start production with a capacity of 25.5 million metres of cotton piece goods and 1,500 tons of yarn.

A contract for construction of the copper enrichment combine of Ainak with a capacity of 114,000 tons has been concluded with the USSR.

The construction of the main building of the general store, the workshop and its central heating has been completed.

The construction and installation of the fourth turbine and the fifth boiler of the Fertiliser and Power Plant of Mazare Sharif is nearing completion with 93 per cent of its work finished.

When functioning, this plant will produce 12,000 kw of electricity per hour and 75 tons of vapour.

The paper says that the study of the project of renovation and expansion of the Kandahar Fruit Company with a capacity of 3,550 tons of processed fruit has been finished with the help of experts from Bulgaria and will start production in 1362 HS (1983).

With the completion and functioning of the Herat Cement Factory and the construction of new Ghori Cement Factory and Kandahar Cement, a total of 1,010 tons of cement will be added to the present production of cement in the country.



Babrak Karmal,

3/17 - DO - Nearly 200 Afghan nationals were arrested in New Delhi on 3/7 while protesting the non-aligned meeting.

- Troops have been moved into Kandahar. BBC reported that "troops have been mobilized from all over Afghanistan and the possible targets may be the 'infiltration groups from Pakistan.'"

- Bangladesh will normalize relations with Afghanistan and soon send an ambassador to Kabul. Gen. Ershad, Chief Martial Law Administrator in Bangladesh, said that his country was indebted to Afghanistan for giving sanctuary to his countrymen in 1971 and that "individual national positions on international issues should not come in the way of normal relations between 2 Muslim countries." - Pakistan was surprised at this, according to Pres. Zia. The Bangladesh ambassador in Pakistan said that his country still stood for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

- NY Daily News - Guerrillas blew up the main natural gas pipeline to the USSR according to diplomatic sources.

- WSJ - Nicholas Bray writes that the French have been unsuccessful in obtaining the release of Dr. Phillippe Augoyard who was captured by the Soviets in 1/16 while working with Aide Medicale Internationale in Afghanistan. (See KNT 1/30 & 3/15)

3/22 - NYT - President Reagan, in a taped statement on 3/21, urged the USSR to "end the bloodshed" in Afghanistan.

- From the South China Morning Post:

Moscow, Mar 21.

A Soviet television report from Afghanistan said in Moscow yesterday said guerrilla attacks in the northern Afghan city of Kandahar are preventing the city from getting three-fourths of its fuel needs.

Other Soviet reports on Afghanistan said yesterday that Americans are training the anti-Marxist insurgents there to use US-supplied chemical weapons, and that operations against counter-revolutionaries have netted bands of mercenaries.

The television footage from Kandahar, a major Afghan city near the Pakistani border, and the other reports yesterday in the Soviet media noted that the Afghan new year will be observed today, a year to be marked as the country "enters into the full swing of profound social transformation" since the communist Government came to power.

Soviet press accounts from Afghanistan, where an estimated 100,000 Soviet troops are battling the anti-Marxist insurgents, have increased lately and become more frank in discussing the problems inflicted by the guerrillas.

They also seek to portray the Afghan population as tiring of the guerrilla tactics, and claim that many of the estimated four million refugees in Pakistan and Iran are now returning to Afghanistan.

The weekly television programme "international panorama," a review of world events, showed Kandahar's factories, working people and a band of eight young men described as detained in a market distributing leaflets calling for militiamen to desert.

Contrary to what foreign press accounts state, the television reporter claimed, Kandahar was not "devastated, abandoned" and without discernible authority.

"In Kandahar, 270,000 people live, work, study and engage in trade," said the correspondent. "True, there were cases when people from some quarters ran away," he said, saying that was because of the "unannounced war" being waged from guerrillas trained 50 miles away in Pakistan.

"But even in the most difficult moments, the city was abandoned by just one-tenth of the population. There are 18 industrial enterprises, and all of them are working... A textile plant being built with the Soviet Union's help is close to completion," he said.

"But I wouldn't... affirm that everything is calm," he said. He said skilled workers are threatened with violence by counter-revolutionaries exhorting them to desert work and that sabotage continues.

"For the first 45 days of this year, 1,348 landmines were discovered," he said, adding that they were clearly branded as made in foreign countries.

"The counter-revolutionaries managed, and not without the help from Pakistani authorities, to destroy many traditional communications," he said.

The reporter said it was now necessary to ship in oil from Kushka, in the extreme southern Soviet Union.

But because of mines and shelling, just 60 to 70 oil lorries "can make just one trip in three weeks," he said. "And so it is no surprise that the needs of Kandahar in oil products are satisfied by just one-fourth."

The Soviet trade union newspaper Trud said yesterday that a captured Afghan guerrilla, Mir Khansa, told how American instructors taught him to use US-made chemical grenades.

The official news agency Tass said Afghan forces "eliminated a major gang of mercenaries smuggled from abroad" in the Beluch area of Nangarhar province.

3/22 - South China Morning Post - Capt. Sayyed Baba, president of Ariana Afghan Airlines, was killed in Kabul on 3/19. Diplomatic sources said that Baba, who was related by marriage to Babrak, was shot near or inside his apartment. Baba, a Parchami, was 47, trained in the US and had been imprisoned by Amin.

3/29 - NYT - UN Secretary General de Cuellar met with Yuri Andropov to discuss "ways of normalizing the situation around Afghanistan."

3/30 - NYT - De Cuellar stated that he had received "renewed encouragement" from his talks with Andropov & Gromyko.

3/31 - DO - The USSR is helping the DRA expand Kabul airport. The runway will be extended to 3500 meters and a new terminal capable of handling 300 passengers per hour will be built.

- Pakistani artist Tasneem Shahzad exhibited prints of Afghan Refugees and Mujahideen at the Abasin Arts Council in Peshawar.

4/6 - NYT - An avalanche 60 miles north of Kabul destroyed the Awlang bridge, swept away 4 Soviet military outposts and closed the road to the Soviet border.

- South China Morning Post - The population of Kabul reportedly is 1.4m - up from 700,000 in 12/79.

"INCHARGES"

The following is a list of ministry and department personnel as gleaned from the Kabul New Times (December 82 - March 83):

Agriculture & Land Reform

Abdul Ghafar Lakanwal - Minister  
Qaium Noorzai - Pres., Peasant's Cooperatives

Commerce

Moh'd Khan Jalalar - Minister

Communications

Moh'd Aslam Watanjar - Minister  
Najibullah - Pres., State Information Service  
Hashmat Kaihani - Pres., Pol. Aff. Dept., State Information Service  
Sayed Amir Shah Zarah - Pres., Bakhtar Information Agency

Council of Ministers

Sultan Ali Keshtmand - Chairman  
Abdul Majid Sarbiland - Dep. Chmn.  
Khalil Ahmad Abawi - Dep. Chmn; also Pres., State Planning Comm & Pres., Afghan-GDR Friendship Soc.  
Guldad - Dep. Chmn.; also VP of Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Org.

DYOA (Democratic Youth Org. of Afgh.)  
Burhan Ghiasi - 1st Secy of Central Comm.

DRA Writers Union

Dastagir Panjshiri - Pres.

Education

Dr. Faqir Moh'd Yaqubi - Minister; also Pres., DRA-Mongolia Friendship Society  
Sarwar Mangal - Minister of Higher & Vocational Education  
Hedyatullah Alefi - Head, Planning Dept.  
Dr. Bulbul Shah Jalah - Pres., Nat'l Services Ctr., Science Academy  
Quddos Ejad - Dir. Gen. of Ed. in Herat  
Khalil Dard Ashna - Dir. Gen. of Ed. in Kunduz

Finance

Abdul Wakil - Minister  
Dr. Mehrabuddin Paktiawal - Pres., Da Afghanistan Bank; also Pres., DRA -Bulgaria Friendship Soc.

Foreign Affairs

Shah Moh'd Dost - Minister  
Moh'd Sakhi Daneshjo - Dep. Min.  
Sarwar Yurish - Dep. Min.  
Dr. Habib Mangal - Amb. to USSR & Finland  
Jeilani Bakhtari - Amb. to Hungary

Health

Dr. Nabi Kamyar - Minister, Public Health

Interior

Sayed Moh'd Gulabzoy - Minister  
Moh'd Farouq - Pres., Pol. Aff. Dept.

Irrigation

Eng. Ahmad Shah Surkhabi - Minister

Islamic Affairs Dept.

Abdul Wali Hojat - Pres., (12/28)  
Mawlawi Ghulam Sarwar (also listed as Pres.)  
Sayed Afghani - Pres., Supreme Council of Ulema

Justice

Abdul Wahab Safi - Minister; also Atty. General  
Nezamuddin Tahzib - Pres., Supreme Court

Kabul Municipality

Zohor Razmjo - Secy., Kabul City Party Comm.  
Adeena Sangeen - Mayor  
Eng. Khair Moh'd Kargar - Pres., Dept. of Works and Transport  
Moh'd Farouq - Incharge for Organization, Kabul City Party Comm.

Mines & Industries

Eng. Moh'd Ismael Danesh - Minister

National Defense

Lt. Gen. Abdul Qadir - Minister  
Maj. Gen. Khalelullah - Dep. Min.  
Lt. Gen. Baba Jan - Chief of Staff  
Maj. Gen. Moh'd Yaseen Sadeqi - Pres., Pol. Aff. Dept.  
Shazar Lival - Chief Southeastern Zone;  
(also reported Chief, South Zone 3/20)  
Abdul Haq Olomi - Chief, South Zone (before 3/20)  
Mir Saheb Karwal - Chief, Central Zone  
(replaced Gen. Sadeqi in January)  
(Northern and Eastern Zone Chiefs are referred to but not named)  
Col. Dost Mohammad - Pol. Chief, Air Defense Command, Begram Airport Garrison

National Fatherland Front (NFF)

Dr. Saleh Moh'd Zeary - President  
 Ghulam Hazrat - Pres. Provincial Council  
 Sediq Kawan Tofani - Secy., Central Committee  
 Bareq Shafie - 1st VP of Central Council

Power

Raz Moh'd Pakteen - Minister

Public Works

Eng. Nazar Mohammad - Minister

Trade Unions

Sattar Purdeli - Pres., Central Council of Trade Unions  
 Jan Gul - Pres. Afsotr Trade Union  
 Ghulam Ghaus - Pres., Jangalak Factory Trade Union

Transportation

Sher Jan Mazdoryar - Minister

Tribes & Nationalities

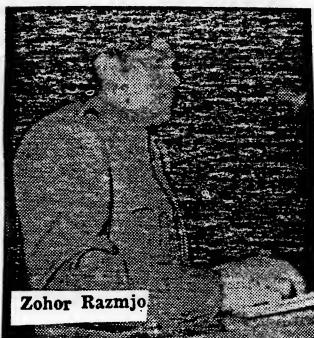
Sulaiman Laeq - Minister  
 Rashid Waziri - Dep. Min.

WDOA (Women's Democratic Org. of Afghanistan)

Dr. Anahita Ratebzad - President;  
 also Pres. of Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization

Watan Nursery

Mahbooba Karmal - President



Zohor Razmjoo

REGIONAL PERFORMANCE FIGURES

Area ('000 sq. km.)

% cultivated	12
% forest	3
% pasture	84

Population

Size (million) 1982	16.4
% ave. annual growth 75-82	2.7
Projected year 2,000	26.5
Years till population doubles	29
Death rate per 1,000	21
Birth rate per 1,000	48
Infant mortality per 1,000	185
% under 15 years	45
Life expectancy	42

Students

Primary	748,400
Secondary	363,000
Tertiary	14,800

Workforce

Total (million)	7.2
% commerce, services	2.5
% manufacturing	0.6
% agric. and fishing	57.6
% construction	2.5
% govt and public authorities	20.8

Social

Hospital beds per 1,000	0.17
Doctors per 1,000	0.04
TV receivers	no
Radios	822,000
Telephones	31,000
Cars	25,000
Trucks and commercial	25,700
Motorcycles	no
Length of railways (km.)	8
Locomotives	no

Production & Prices

GNP in US billions	3.5
Per capita income (US\$)	238
Percentage average GNP growth 1970-80	3.0
GNP at market prices (US\$)	1.6
1978	no
1979	2.9
1980	3.5
1981	no
1982 (est.)	no
Agriculture as % of GNP	55
Industry as % of GNP	25
Gross capital formation as % of GNP	no
Capital-output ratio	no
Inflation (CPI) in 1981	no
1982 estimates	no
Money supply % growth	6

Public Expenditure

As % of GNP	12
Defence as % of GNP	3

REGIONAL PERFORMANCE FIGURES

Public Expenditure (Cont'd)

Defence as % of public expenditure	15
Education as % of public expenditure	15
Total expenditure (US\$M)	na
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na
Total revenue (US\$M)	na
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na
% personal tax	na
% company tax	na
% customs and excise	na

Foreign Trade

Total foreign trade as % of GNP	18
% of energy consumption imported (net)	47
% of food consumption imported (net)	12.5

% of trade with Pacific region (except US and Japan)	na
% of trade with Japan	na
% of trade with the US	na

Merchandise exports (US\$M)	1978
1979	222
1980	429
1981	522
1982 (est.)	na

% manufactured food and agric. products	21
% minerals	8.1
Merchandise imports (US\$M)	1978

1979	681
1980	356
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

% plant and capital equipment	1.4
% manufactured consumer raw materials and food	13.8
% petroleum	43.5

Terms of trade (1975 = 100)	1978
1979	na
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

% plant and capital equipment	1.4
% manufactured consumer raw materials and food	13.8
% petroleum	43.5

Balance of payments (US\$M)	1978
1979	-98.8
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

Net services receipts (US\$M)	1978
1979	na
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

Net current a/c (US\$M)	1978
1979	na
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

Net capital a/c (US\$M)	1978
1979	na
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

Foreign reserves (US\$M)	1978
1979	521.8
1980	1,206.1
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

Outstanding for. debt (US\$M)	1978
1979	na
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

Debt service ratio	1978
1979	21.5
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

No. of visitors	1978
1979	na
1980	na
1981	na
1982 (est.)	na

Sources: 1982 World Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau Inc., Washington; Review correspondents.

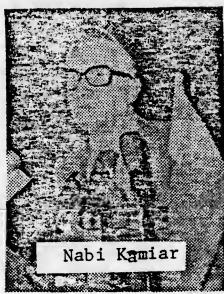
"Incharges" as they have appeared in the Kabul New Times during the past year.



Mohammad Aslam Watanjar



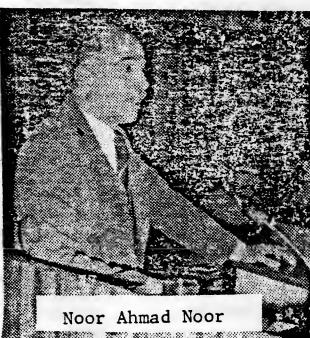
Dr Najib, presenting gifts to the children  
of the Watan Nursery. (Photo: Bakhtar)



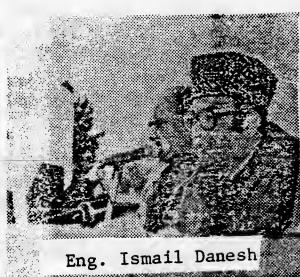
Nabi Kermiar



Dr Saleh Mohammad Zeary



Noor Ahmad Noor



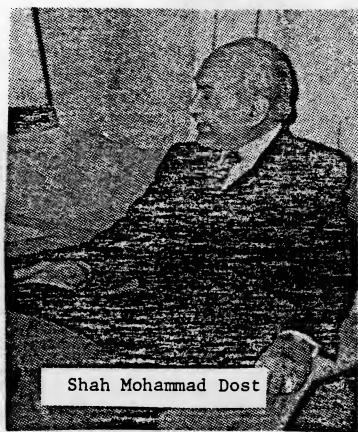
Eng. Ismail Danesh



Anahita Ratebzad.



Lt-Gen Baba, Jan



Shah Mohammad Dost

# AFGHANISTAN - Life and Landscapes

## Kunduz, a fertile soil and flourishing culture

The Kunduz province is one of the northern provinces of the country. It is of great importance from the economical and transit view point. The ancient constructions and localities indicates its historical ancestry.

The province lies on the eastern longitude of 68 and 69 degrees 18 minutes of the northern latitude.

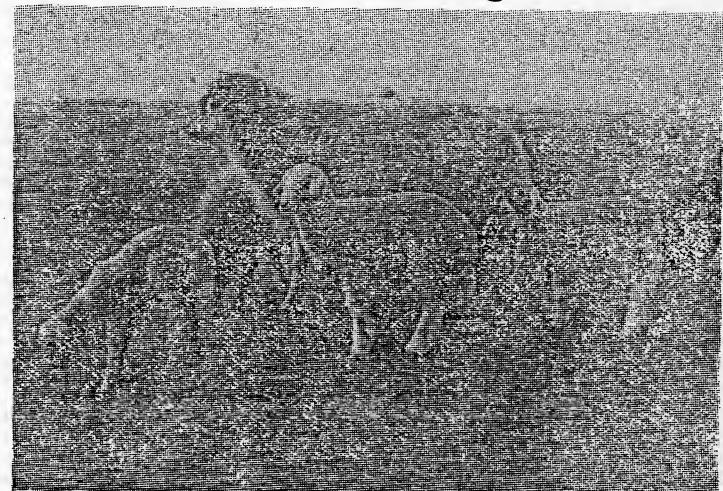
The province occupies an area of 7,927 sq kms and is situated at an altitude of 430 ms above the sea level. In general, the temperature in the summer reaches to 31 degrees centigrade and the annual rainfall is 321 mms.

The ancient books and relics explain the origin of the name Kunduz. According to one source Kunduz is a derivative of "Kohen dazh" (ancient fort). Huen Tsang and Shan Tang, well known Chinese travellers call Kunduz "Howa" and mention that the region was a centre of Buddhism.

Kunduz city was probably situated on the silk route and was an important intersection of civilisation at that time.

In 1936, a Buddhist shrine was discovered at the 'Tapah Auhargaran' the blacksmith's hill; in Kunduz accidentally. Several big and small statues were found there. These finds revealed that this region was also a centre of Greco-Buddhic industry and art.

Mosio Haken has written a book called "the Bakhtar industry" which persuades us to say that our Kunduz statuettes were products of this Bakhtar industry. Similarly, the discovery of a number of coins, unbaked and baked bricks and



A herd of the Karakul sheep.

pottery works from the Qalai Zal also, adds to the historical and cultural claims of Kunduz province.

The turban and pyjama forms the main clothing items of the people. The women and girls of the region are mostly engaged in domestic affairs and handicrafts.

The marriage ceremony, among the families in the Kunduz, has remained in its ancient and traditional form, and the parents decide the future of both the boy and the girl.

Pashtoons, Tajiks, Uzbek, Turkomans and Hazara nationalities constitute the inhabitants of the province. These tribes and nationalities of the province living both as city and suburbs, dwellers and as nomads.

The extension of agriculture and industry has recently made the villagers and even a number of the nomads come to the cities and they seem to prefer city life.

Most of the people of Kunduz are engaged in agriculture and cattle-breeding. As agricultural lands in this province are fertile, the abundance of water and the favourable climate have made agricultural yields, especially rice, more satisfactory here than in any other provinces of the country.

Cattle-breeding in the Kunduz province has increasingly changed to more modernized forms and the raising of karakul sheep has developed the skin industry in the province.

The Kunduz province includes five districts and a subdistrict. The districts are, Hazrate Imam, Arach, Qalai Zal, Char Dara, Khanabad and the subdistrict is called Ali Abad.

The Kunduz province is counted as one of the developed provinces of Afghanistan and from the economical view point has

an important role in the economic structure of society.

The fertile lands, favourable climate and abundance of water, and especially the regions significance as a highway between Kabul, Mazare Sharif, Takhar and the Sher Khan port has caused the increase of the population of the province which is now over 555,437.

In Kunduz province, just like in other provinces of the country, handicraft work is popular.

In the provincial capital and other parts men and women weave and make carpets, rugs, canvas, felts, blankets and such other items.

The Spinzar Company alone provides vast lands for cultivation, and keep the factories of the company alive producing ginned cotton, soap and vegetable ghee. This provides employment to many people in the province.

This province has the best fertile agricultural soil and water resources which are not yet completely utilised. The great manpower, pleasant and favourable weather for cultivating various kinds of crops and plants and a lengthy season for harvesting exist in this region. All these are good opportunities for effective utilisation of agricultural lands and increasing the output level. The main agricultural produce of the province, in general is, wheat, rice, cotton, sesame, corn, bean, peas, mung bean, flax and several other crop.

Several kinds of livestock are being raised in Kunduz.

Lamb for meat and Karakul skin constitutes the food stuff and a valuable export item for the country.

The raising of Karakul and other sheep not only provides food and raw material for handicrafts, but the skin exported to foreign markets supports the national economy.

The province has 19 rural, 85 elementary and eight secondary schools, in which boys and girls are busy studying.

Several famous tombs are located in this province. The best known are the tombs of Khwaja Shahid Baba, Hazrate Sultan Baba, Khalifa Nauroz, Pacha Qalunder, Khwaja Ghaltan and Shah Khwaja.

Along with wrestling and baseball, Buzkashi is one of the most usual and traditional sports. This game is played in the cold season. It is supposed to be the best way to spend leisure time and provides entertainment for people during the vacations and festivals.

In Kunduz, music is both of old and new forms. The local musicians play the tabor, Ghejak, Robab, drum, and flute which are the common musical instruments of the region.

Among the gains of the Saur Revolution, particularly its new and evolutionary phase, is the creation of the National Fatherland in the province. The patriotic and grateful people, relying on this great organisation and under the banner of unity of the NFF, are taking an active part in the rejuvenation of their society. An example is provincial council's conference of the Kunduz NFF.

The first provincial conference of the Kunduz NFF opened on Hamal 25, 1361 HS. The people participated along with many social organisations. More than 1,000 people have joined the front individually also. As a result of the fruitful activities of the provincial council, the people are being enlightened and by perceiving the righteousness of the revolution, and especially the significance of the front are consolidating their ranks around this great national front.

The intellectuals and ulema are making efforts in the capital and districts, putting into practice, the aims and aspirations of the front and that is why the provincial council of the NFF in the Kunduz province is being more and extended more with every passing day.

The women's democratic organisation branch of Kunduz has 226 members. It includes a provincial council, two district councils, one city council and primary organisation. The connection and contact of the women's council with the toiling women take place through the women's club and the literacy courses.

The students and the enlightened women of the city constitutes greater part of its structure. They make contact through, the commission of the social affairs of the worker women, and solve many of their problems.

A quantity of aid goods from various countries have also been distributed to the families of the martyrs for the revolution's defence in the region. Patients in hospitals are visited and voluntary work have been organised in the premises of schools and the productive institutions. Eight members of the organisation have membership in the local committees of the NFF provincial branch and are actively explaining its policy to the people.

In order to play a patriotic and constructive role in the service of the people and the homeland, the youth have consolidated around the DYOA branch of the province.

They participate in the revolutionary struggle and by now, hundreds of young people have been attracted to the organisation. They consistently and consciously make efforts for realisation of the sacred objectives of the party and the popular Government.

The trade union of the province has been founded on Qaus 11 1359 HS.

The provincial council of the trade unions has 9 members. It has 23 syndicated primary and two departmental organisations. The number of its members reaches to 2,314 people.

In order to secure the productive institutions, 14 security posts have been created and 95 people have joined these groups for defending various productive firms.

A wall magazine and three libraries for enlightening the workers have been made available for the me-

mbers of the union and the workers. Similarly 25 literacy courses have also been opened. Five sports teams, two artists' groups and a movie theatre are also active.

Hundreds of patriotic peasants and the workers of the province have joined the revolution defenders groups for defending the gains of the revolution and for securing the industrial and productive institutions.

Towards this sacred end, they have dealt crushing blows to the counter-revolution and have provided the ground for progress of the country and well-being of the people.

KNT 1/13-15

#### From Bakhtar

3/19 - the Communications Ministry issued a new stamp to honor the decade of research work of Amir Ali Shah Nawai. Another stamp was issued to commemorate Farmer's Day.

- Over 11,700 hectares of land in Parwan are ready for planting. Parwan farmers will receive 250 tons of seeds & 1706 tons of fertilizer plus insecticides.

3/22 - The Civil Defense Code was published in the Official Gazette.

- The new academic year began in Kabul & other provinces in the cold regions.

**Desert Chic**

The Baluchi, of Afghanistan, are a completely nomadic people, their caravans traveling as far south as the desert, as far north as the Russian border. When they pitch their black tents, these sheepherding people arrange their furniture: their eating kilims, their sleeping kilims, their prayer kilims, the kilims they hang from the canvas walls. If a guest arrives, they may roll out a special rug for the "floor." Mark Shilen (above) has learned to love the somber weavings made by Baluchi women in the eight years he has been traveling to Kabul to buy rugs (his most recent trip having been in February 1982, when he was one of only two non-Russian foreigners in Kabul). But he also likes the brighter colors used by the Turkmen in the Maimana area, the lively rugs crafted by the Uzbeks. Given the strife that has brought commerce to a virtual halt in Afghanistan, these rugs are rarities—30 years old, on the average—and cost up to \$5,000, with most in the \$700-to-\$1,500 range for an area rug. Woven saddlebags and cushions start at \$150, while ten-by-fifteen Maimana rugs are \$2,500 to \$3,500. Shortly after we met him, Shilen got good news: He has received another visa for Afghanistan and will be replenishing his supply in about a month.

MARK SHILEN / By appointment: 989-8664

NEW YORK/APRIL 11, 1983

## Afghan Trinkets Spark Career for Pittsburgh Woman

\* \* \*

By PAM LAMBERT

Ruth O. Frank was discovered while doing her Christmas shopping in Pittsburgh. Or, to be more exact, her jewelry was.

Mrs. Frank was doing some shopping in Kaufmann's department store when her necklace, made of antique silver she had bought while visiting her son in Afghanistan, caught the eye of one of the jewelry buyers. When Mrs. Frank told the buyer she had designed the necklace herself—and had a dozen more at home which she'd been planning to use as Christmas gifts, she got a present herself—an offer to bring the items in to the store to be sold.

A week later, shoppers had bought 10 of the 12 pieces, and Mrs. Frank had herself a new career. Now, 11 years later, her necklaces, which sell for \$250 to several thousand dollars each, are carried by Saks Fifth Avenue at 14 locations. And the 350 to 400 necklaces the 61-year-old Mrs. Frank makes each year add up to what she describes as "a six figure business." The financial end of the operation is handled by her husband, James, who has his own Pittsburgh-based company which specializes in finding overseas markets for small American firms. AWSJ 2/21

## Growth of commerce in years of revolution

The Ministry of Commerce, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the DRA Government, is duty-bound to provide healthy growth of commerce for amelioration of the economic conditions of the country.

### A Staff Reporter

Along with the development and expansion of the state sector and mixed and cooperative trade, it is also to create favourable conditions for the merchants and national capital holders who play a valuable role in advancing the economic wheels of the country. Meanwhile,

it encourages, supports and controls their commercial activities.

Despite numerous objective difficulties, the volume of the country's commercial activities have satisfactorily expanded during the Afghan years 1358, 1359, 1360

and 1361 HS.

For instance, the statistical data available shows an increase in the volume of export and import of commodities and their total circulation during the last four years.

	1358	1359	1360	1361 (planned)	KNT
Commodities export	\$ 493.69 m.	\$ 705.29 m.	\$ 694.29 m.	\$ 690.36 m.	5/2/83
Commodities import	425.26m.	551.75 m.	622.42 m.	\$ 673.70 m.	
Total circulation	\$ 918.95 m.	\$ 1256.99 m.	\$ 1316.71 m.	\$ 1364.06 m.	
Showing a relative	36.8 and 4.8 per cent increase.				

ORGANIZATIONS (continued from the last issue & to be continued in the October issue.)  
Listing does not imply endorsement.

AFGHAN CULTURAL AND CHARITABLE  
SOCIETY OF ALBERTA  
Box 787, Substation 11 P.O.  
University of Alberta  
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2E0  
403-432-7745  
Dr. M.S. Noorzoy, President

To develop and strengthen friendship between the peoples of Afghanistan & Canada; to introduce the people & culture of Afghanistan to Canada; to provide humanitarian assistance to Afghan refugees; to preserve & develop Islam & Islamic values among Afghans; to preserve & promote Afghan national languages and cultural heritage among Afghans in Canada; to organize & co-ordinate activities of mutual concern to Afghans and Canadians.

AFGHAN INFORMATION & DOCUMENTATION CENTER (AFC)  
5, rue Las-Cases  
75007 Paris  
France  
766-33-24  
and  
AFC  
Boite Postale 324  
Peshawar, Pakistan  
76567

News bulletin AFGHAN REALITIES (in English) to subscribers. Also provide photographs and documents.

AFGHANISTAN RESEARCH MATERIALS INVENTORY  
c/o Prof. Nake Kamrany  
Dept. of Economics  
University of Southern California  
Los Angeles, CA 90089

Reports that about 12,000 bibliographic entries have been compiled including Russian, French, German and English sources; material will be sent to the printer in early June.  
(see Vol 9, #3 for project description)

AFGHAN SUPPORT COMMITTEE  
P.O. Box 42  
Route 6  
Andover, CT 06232  
Hassan Najib, Chairman



To educate Americans about Afghan affairs by interviews, radio talks and lectures. Newsletters - quarterly, 75¢/issue  
"Independent Afghanistan" on bumper sticker printed in black  
Committee also sends funds to families of political prisoners, freedom fighters, etc.

AFRANE (Amitie Franco-Afghane)  
P.O. Box 260  
75524 Paris Cedex 11  
France

Humanitarian help inside Afghanistan; medicine for refugees in Pakistan; information.  
Newsletter - "Les Nouvelles D'Afghanistan" bimonthly 60 ff.  
Post cards 3ff - 5 ff. each badge - 5 ff.

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One of the leading American non-sectarian relief agencies. Medical & resettlement programs.

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Dr. Claude Malhuret, Director

To bring medical care to victims of catastrophes or conflicts without any consideration of race, ethnic origin, philosophy or religion. A non-political, non-denominational organization.

Bulletin, MSF, published every 3 months; free to members and contributors.

SOLIDARITATSKOMITEE FUR DAS AFGHANISCHE VOLK e. V.  
Plengstr. 11  
3000 Hannover 91  
Germany  
Heide Dietrich

Helps Afghan refugees in Iran; relief supplies and self-help support to western Afghanistan.

4/12 - NYT - UN Under Secretary Cordovez met separately in Geneva with the FMs of Pakistan & Afghanistan.

4/13 - CSM - "In a rare disclosure, Sultan Ali Keshtmand said that rebel attacks had caused great harm to the country's economy." More than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Afghanistan's schools & hospitals and 3/4ths of its communications lines have been destroyed by guerrillas.

4/17 - The Guardian - The "Spring Offensive" by Soviet and Afghan troops has started. Guerrillas are escalating attacks around Kabul and they besieged a military garrison south of Kabul. Soviet soldiers killed an unarmed civilian setting off the largest anti-government demonstration since a series of protests in February. Reportedly, Maj. Gen Moh'd Nabi Azimi, commander of the 8th Division, was critically wounded on 3/16 near Paghman. The avalanche (see 4/6) has resulted in fuel shortages in Kabul and disrupted supply lines.

4/21 - NYT - Heavy fighting is reported near Herat, Kandahar, Ghazni & Mazar-i-Sharif. The Hezbe Islami, the Jamiat-i-Islami & the Harakat-i-Islami were involved in ambushing a Soviet convoy in the Panjshir. Ahmed Masoud, the "hero of the Panjshir," was not involved. (See 5/10)

4/22 - UN Press Release (SG/1826) - The Afghan situation was discussed in Geneva by Diego Cordovez, Shah Moh'd Dost & Sahabzada Yaqub Khan from 4/11 - 4/22. The Iranian government was kept informed of the discussions. "Substantial progress was made in the elaboration of a draft comprehensive settlement designed to resolve the issues which have brought about the present situation... The draft, which is now near completion, sets out the principles & objectives of the comprehensive settlement, defines the inter-relationship between the component elements of the settlement & contains provisions, including the time-frame, for implementation. The discussions also focused on the arrangements to ascertain that the provisions to be made for the

voluntary & unimpeded return of refugees are satisfactory." The delegates will return to their respective capitals for consultation & the talks will resume in Geneva on 16 June.

4/24 - NYT - In an interview in Der Spiegel, Yuri Andropov contends that the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan is analogous to US efforts in Central America.

4/25 - NYT - Guerrillas report that Soviet planes killed 1500 civilians in raids on 35 villages west of Herat. 400 homes were destroyed in the Soviet offensive which began 4/16. (See 5/21)

4/26 - WSJ - Excerpts from an article by Paul Gigot reporting from Peshawar:

... The status quo, some argue, costs the Russians billions of dollars a year, increases friction between Moscow and the U.S. and damages Russia's reputation in the Third World. Already stuck with subsidies to Cuba and Vietnam, this argument continues, the Russians want a break in Afghanistan. "They would like to leave," says K. Subrahmanyam, a military analyst based in New Delhi.

But such optimism doesn't square with most estimates of Soviet intentions. For one thing, the occupation's cost might not be so burdensome to the Soviets. Unlike Vietnam or Cuba, Afghanistan pays for most of the weapons it buys from Moscow. Soviet military and economic aid still may reach some \$2 billion a year, diplomats estimate, but the Russians get much of that back by exploiting Afghanistan's resources.

The Soviets buy most of Afghanistan's biggest export, natural gas, at a 40% discount from the world price, diplomats and Afghans say. What's more, the gas meters sit on the Soviet side of the border, so the Karmal government can't judge how much gas is being shipped. "The Soviets are just helping themselves," says a European diplomat. Soviet geologists have mapped out mineral deposits, too, and Soviet miners have already begun exploiting lodes such as the 1.7-billion-ton iron-ore deposit near Hajigak, northwest of Kabul.

#### Large Investments

The Russians have also invested in roads, air bases and bridges across the Oxus River that divides the two countries. Precise figures aren't available, but diplomats say the investments are big enough that the Soviets won't abandon them easily.

The air base at Shindand near Iran, for example, has been made into a huge fortress, with an expanded runway, jet fighters, 200 helicopters and as many as 30,000 Soviet troops. A guerrilla commander from the area interviewed in Pakistan, Capt. Al- laudin—Afghans often have only one name—says that only some of the Soviets fight the guerrillas; the others, he says, make up a

permanent military command. A West European diplomat adds: "Shindand is a double air base. It's a base for fighting rebels, but it's also a major Soviet military base," capable of projecting air power and manpower into the Middle East or Pakistan.

The Soviets also seem to have adopted a longer-term strategy to fight the insurgents. At first the Soviets did little to win the loyalty of Afghan Communists, and many defected. Now the Soviets are paying thousands of these Afghans to visit Soviet cities. Adults receive technical training or get a free vacation. And as many as 10,000 children have been sent off to Russian schools for what Afghan sources describe as ideological training.

"They're hoping to build a loyal Communist elite, even if it takes years," says Abdul Bari Jahani, former head of the government-owned television network in the Afghan capital of Kabul. He defected 18 months ago and was interviewed in Pakistan. . . .

The Russians are also trying to exploit rivalries among the guerrillas. In February, for example, fire destroyed a mosque in Kabul that belonged to followers of the Moslem Shia sect. The government radio station quickly blamed the sabotage on guerrillas belonging to the Sunni sect. Sunni-Shia feuding has since flared.

#### Planting Informers

The Russians also pay informers or plant agents of the Afghan secret police, the Khad, among the guerrillas. Afghans say the payoff rate for such spies is 3,000 afghanis (\$60) a month, a seductive sum for poor peasants. Kabul agents are thought to have planned the murders of seven guerrilla leaders in recent weeks here in Peshawar,

4/27 - NYT - To honor the 5th anniversary of the Saur Revolution, the DRA announced it would release all female prisoners and some male prisoners. Reportedly 100,000 people are in Afghan prisons.

5/1 - NYT - Drew Middleton writes:

... Internally, the Afghan army is eroding rapidly but probably not enough to affect the Soviet conduct of the war. According to three Afghan insurgents interviewed recently, the army's strength is down to about 20,000 men compared with 40,000 a year ago. These sources reported that the Russians, worried over mutiny, disarm Afghan units at night and return the weapons in the morning.

Demographic shifts within Afghanistan in the last three years have helped the Russians. Successive Soviet campaigns have driven the resistance and its supporters out of some of the country's most fertile areas. These have been replaced by workers chosen for their loyalty to the Communist regime.

Another favorable factor for Russia is the massive program for training Afghan students — between 6,000 and 10,000 — in the Soviet Union who will replace the often suspect administrators who now run the country under the guidance of the K.G.B. According to a former colonel in the Ministry of Interior, 200 officers from the Soviet security service work in that ministry and nearly 1,000 are in the Defense Ministry. . . .

Soviet troops rotate through Afghanistan every six months. Recently there have been signs that more Central Asian units are moving in just as they did in the initial invasion. The reason may be, according to Washington view, that losses to Uzbeks and Kazakhs create fewer problems in their isolated communities than the death of a young man from big cities like Moscow or Kiev.

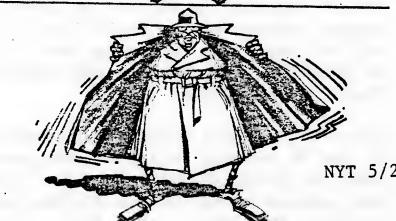
Some defections among Central Asian troops, particularly Tadzhiks, have been reported. Afghan sources also claim that the Russians have sent Bulgarian units into northern Afghanistan to guard the gas fields there and that Cubans and Vietnamese also have been identified.

Intelligence sources believe resistance at varying levels is bound to persist but they do not believe it will be heavy enough to divert Moscow from what they believe is the long-term solution: the absorption of Afghanistan into the Soviet Union as a Soviet Socialist republic. . . .

5/4 - NYT - Administration officials report that the US has stepped up the quantity & quality of covert military support to Afghan guerrillas. The decision to increase the supply was made by Reagan last fall. Leslie Gelb writes: "The arms are brought to Pakistan by ship & aircraft & then trucked to the border areas. Soviet officials recently asserted that China had reduced its support for the Afghan guerrillas, but Administration officials said otherwise. Saudi Arabia & Egypt are also said to be involved in covert support for the guerrillas. Iran is also reported to be providing a limited amount of arms to Shiite Moslems in Afghanistan. The officials said that a large portion of the arms came from old Egyptian stockpiles of Soviet weapons & that the Saudis & the US were paying the bills. The total cost of the operation is estimated to have been between \$30m & \$50m/year for the last 3 years with the US paying about half."



Paul Conrad  
The Los Angeles Times  
The Los Angeles Times Syndicate



NYT 5/23

The difference between 'overt' and 'covert' C.I.A. military actions

5/4 - CSM - Mary Anne Weaver reports from Peshawar that last week a Soviet military plane landed in Kabul with over 100 severely wounded soldiers, casualties from Paktia. A new group of local mujahideen commanders has been formed there & reportedly are holding off DRA forces. They are "thought to be establishing a stronghold in the mountainous terrain, which they are using as a key training center & staging area for attack." Reportedly the Soviets are carrying out offensives in 3 key areas in battalion-regimental strength, using unprecedented numbers of fighter-bombers & helicopter gunships to support the ground attacks, & no longer seem interested in "winning the hearts & minds" of the Afghans. The Herat offensive began on 4/15 and continues. The other offensives are in Ghazni & Kandahar. (See 5/21) The number of Soviet troops is put at 109,000.

5/5 - NYT - John Burns writes from Moscow (in an article on Andropov) that "the apparent resolve to remain unyielding in Afghanistan, & an accompanying shift toward a more resolute public posture in contacts with China, are thought by Western diplomats to owe something to Mr. Andropov's relationship with the military, which played a key role in his accession to power."

- The 40 Afghans detained in Brooklyn for illegally trying to enter the US began a hunger strike on 5/3 to enlist sympathy for their case which is being brought to trial this week. There are 38 men & 2 women in the group who range from teenagers to middle-aged former government aides in Kabul. Eleven Afghans are also confined in Miami.

5/7 - NYT - A Brooklyn federal judge gave the US Immigration Service 20 days to file papers supporting its claim that it is acting legally in detaining the 40 Afghans in Brooklyn. The Afghans are continuing their hunger strike.

5/9 - NYT - Peter Graham, 2nd secretary of the US embassy in Kabul, was given 48 hours to leave Afghanistan. Mr. Graham was accused by the DRA of selling pornographic literature to buy rugs. The State Department described the charge as "ludicrous and wholly without foundation." The same article states that Graham's arrest

followed the recent arrest by Afghanistan's secret police of most of the white collar Afghan employees at the embassy.

5/10 - NYT - Not surprisingly, the US State Department ordered Masjedi Hewadmal, an Afghan embassy official in Washington, to leave the US in 48 hours. No charges were specified. (Perhaps he was using rugs to buy pornography.)

- CSM - Last week the DRA government expelled the two sons of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from Kabul.

- The Pakistan Government warned 5 mujahideen newspapers published in Peshawar that all articles must now be submitted for censorship or the papers would be closed.

- The White House leak that the US was stepping up aid to the mujahideen (see 5/4) came after an early April directive by the Pakistan Government that resistance groups must move their headquarters out of Peshawar and be dispersed along the Afghan frontier. Moscow then leaked from Kabul that the "refugee dispersal would coincide with a withdrawal of Soviet forces from the Afghan border, and their redeployment in the interior of Afghanistan." This simultaneous withdrawal,\* according to a United News of India report, was "virtually settled" in Geneva. Such a dispersal would create a demilitarized zone with disarmed refugees moving into it for repatriation from Pakistan & Iran. Reuters reports that Pres. Zia, embarrassed by the US leak, dismisses reports that Soviet troops will withdraw by the end of summer. Most rebel leaders have denounced the UN-sponsored talks. Mary Anne Weaver also says that reports from Peshawar indicate that "the Soviet Army - in an unprecedented mid-April move - signed a truce with the wily rebel commander of the northern Panjshir Valley, Ahmed Shah Masoud. The truce, which came after 3 weeks of intensive fighting, will reportedly include a withdrawal of Soviet forces from key areas of the valley, through which the main highway passes connecting the Soviet Union & Kabul."

5/11 - CSM - The Iranian Government has accused the Karmal regime of supporting the Tudeh Party in Iran.

\* to start in September

5/11 - NYT - Reuters reports that Soviet & Afghan forces have mounted a major offensive to destroy rebel strongholds north of Kabul. The offensive, in the Shomali area, caused civilians to flee the area & coincided with the end of a similar operation in Herat..

- The Afghans detained in Brooklyn ended their hunger strike.

- WSJ - Afghanistan has told the UN that its development program has been jeopardized by the suspension of non-communist foreign assistance. The DRA says:

Between this year and 1989, it stated, development projects will require \$3.64 billion, of which only \$1.2 billion is available domestically. It said it "looks forward with hope" to the remaining \$2.44 billion being made available by means of external assistance, so that it can break "the vicious circle of poverty."

Afghanistan, one of the world's 36 poorest nations, reported to U.N.D.P. round table conference with potential donors that last year inflation stood at 16%, just 5% of the 16 million population had electricity, and only some 880,000 people had access to piped drinking water.

5/13 - CSM - Reportedly the black market rate for Afs. has jumped to 92/\$1. A kilo of potatoes is now 40 Afs & a kilo of firewood, officially Afs 65, is not available for less than Afs 95. On May 2, Moscow paid the Kabul government \$30m for imports, "the first such foreign currency transaction that Western officials could recall. The foreign exchange was reportedly meant to finance consumer goods for Soviet officers & basic staples for Soviet troops," writes Mary Anne Weaver from Peshawar.

In Kabul the electric current has dropped from 220 to 130 volts; the curfew remains in effect from 11p.m. to 4a.m. Islamic leaders are much in evidence & prominently seated at public functions, leading some to speculate that this might give the DRA & fundamental Islamic resistance groups a common discussion topic. (An undocumented rumor, not in the CSM, has it that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar disappeared for several weeks & is thought to have been in contact with the DRA; the scuttlebutt being that he would be offered a position in the DRA gov't. if he came to terms with the Soviets.)

5/16 - NYT - Pakistani FM Yaqub Khan, in Beijing on his way to the US, "went straight into talks on Afghanistan with his Chinese counterpart..." No details were given.

5/18 - NYT - Reportedly a Soviet garrison has been established in Herat. Diplomats think the garrison might be part of a plan to halt infiltrators from Iran. 6,000 troops for the garrison were reportedly flown from the USSR to Shindand air base although it is not clear whether these are part of the Soviet's spring troop rotation, or an addition to the 105,000 troops already in Afghanistan.

- At least 50 people were killed or badly wounded in a DRA attack on Istalif.

5/20 - NYT - The Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan said that the Kabul government was "willing to set a timetable for the total withdrawal of Soviet troops provided it had international guarantees against intervention from across its borders."

5/21 - NYT - The US State Dept. said that Soviet raids around Herat and NW of Kabul were "intolerable by any standards of civilized behavior."

"It would appear that the Soviet Union believes that the world is either unaware of or no longer cares what it is doing in Afghanistan and that, in its desperation to subdue the spirit of the vast majority of Afghans, who yearn for their nation's freedom, it is willing to employ any means no matter how brutal," the statement said.

"We cannot stand silently by and witness this slaughter," the statement said. "The Soviet Union is aware of our strong concern. We call on it once more to desist from its heartless assault on a courageous and independent people and to urgently seek a solution to the crisis in Afghanistan which preserves human life and responds to the principles outlined in four successive resolutions by the United Nations General Assembly."

The statement said these were the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces; self-determination for the Afghan people; an independent and nonaligned Afghanistan, and the return of the refugees in safety and with honor.

This month the State Department reported that the Afghan police had arrested some 18 Afghan employees at the United States Embassy in Kabul. In addition, the Afghans have refused to renew visas for Pakistani and Indian employees of the embassy, and expelled a ranking American diplomat.

State Department officials said this situation suggested that the Soviet Union wanted to inhibit the activities of the United States Embassy, and possibly even close it down to limit the ability of the diplomats to report on developments in the country.

5/22 - NYT - Kabul Radio denies US charges: "Bombardments have not taken place," ... "In Herat city and around Herat, everything is normal. People are doing everyday things normally." The same article goes on:

Western diplomatic sources here said the Soviet Union recently sent in as many as 11,000 troops to reinforce its garrison at Herat.

Earlier today, a guerrilla group announced that it had reoccupied its former positions in the western Afghanistan provincial capital.

The Jamiat-e-Islami, or Islamic Party, said insurgents, forced to pull out in April because of bombing raids, had recaptured their previous strongholds and that fighting is now raging in the city of Shahr-e-Nau.

5/24 - NYT - A bit of cheer from Moscow Radio: MOSCOW, May 23 — The Moscow radio made an uncharacteristic contribution to the annals of broadcasting blunders today with three newscasts describing Soviet troops in Afghanistan as "invaders" and "occupants" who endangered the country's security.

Vladimir Danchev, an announcer on the English-language service, started off on sound ideological ground with his bulletin at 2 P.M. (6 A.M., New York time). In an item on Afghanistan, he said the population was playing an increasing role in defending the country "against bands infiltrated from Pakistan," the base for most of the anti-Government rebels who have tied down more than 100,000 Soviet troops.

But for the next three hours Mr. Danchev appeared to have lost his political bearings. For two hours the newscaster offered a fresh version of the item that said the Afghan people were playing an increasing role in combating "Soviet occupants" of the country, a phrase that was changed in the third hour to "Soviet invaders" and "bands infiltrated from the Soviet Union."

Closing out the item, Mr. Danchev said that people at tribal meetings in the eastern provinces "underlined that anti-Government activity carried out from Soviet territory endangers the security of the people of Afghanistan."

Finally, at 6 P.M., Mr. Danchev was replaced by a new announcer, Vladimir Obratsov, who gave the item a more familiar ideological treatment. This time, the Afghan people were once again said to be fighting "bands infiltrated from Pakistan."

5/25 - NYT - Mr. Danchev (see 5/24) made a "personal mistake." What will happen to him is not known.

- The NYT also reports that Masoud's truce (see 5/10) is expected to last until the summer crops are harvested sometime in July.

5/25 - NYT - Defense Minister Abdul Qadir reportedly was hospitalized on 5/15 after receiving a severe beating from deputy minister Khalilullah. Kadir, a Khalqi, argued with Khalilullah, a Parchami, over the growing influence of Parchamites in the military. Reportedly Khalilullah was sent home after the incident and told to stay there.

5/27 - NYT - Yaqub Khan in Washington; Bernard Weinraub reports:

WASHINGTON, May 26 — Pakistani officials have told the Reagan Administration that there have been "signs" the Soviet Union would withdraw from Afghanistan if the Government could be replaced by one that was friendly to the Russians but not necessarily under Soviet control.

At the same time, Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan of Pakistan indicated Wednesday to Vice President Bush and in a meeting with Secretary of State George P. Shultz that the question of Soviet troop withdrawal remained stalled over the timing of the pullout, the future of the 2.8 million Afghans who have fled to neighboring Pakistan and "guarantees of noninterference and nonintervention" sought by the Russians.

The other Pakistani officials said these guarantees would include an agreement by the United States to curb arms supplies to Afghan rebels fighting Soviet troops.

"The Soviet accusation is that we are supplying arms," Mr. Yaqub Khan told reporters today. "We are not."

He added: "The Soviets continue to take the view that it is not sufficient for Pakistan to provide assurance that they will not interfere in the affairs of their neighbor, but there should be guarantees by the United States and some other countries, unnamed so far."

Mr. Yaqub Khan has visited Peking, London, Paris, Riyadh and Washington and is due to visit Moscow on June 9 to conduct briefings on the Afghanistan situation in advance of United Nations-sponsored talks starting June 16 in Geneva.

Pakistani officials said the Russians might seek to start withdrawing their 100,000 troops "if they were sure that there would remain behind a regime in Afghanistan that was not unfriendly to the Soviet Union," as one official put it.

"If the Soviets can have a change," an official said, "if Karmal has outlived his usefulness and the Soviets can bring about a change of government, it could work." Soviet forces installed the Government of President Babrak Karmal in December 1979.

The Pakistani officials said the Russians had found their involvement in Afghanistan a financial drain as well as a diplomatic liability in a region that could harm Soviet ties to Islamic countries. It has been estimated that the war is costing the Russians \$3 million to \$4 million and 1,200 casualties a year.

The officials said that in talks here the Islamabad Government had sought to ease the crisis in Afghanistan, partly because it costs about \$1 million a day to feed and maintain the Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

From FRONTIER (Front for Liberation of Iran), a bimonthly publication.  
ARVAJ, P.O. Box 223.16, 75765 Paris  
Cedex 16, France. The following is from  
the 2/9/83 issue:

## Subtle Shift in Iran's Policy Toward Afghanistan

Judging by the official Iranian media, it seems some subtle changes have taken place in regard to relations with Afghanistan. This is the conclusion drawn by our research team in Tehran, which offers the following observations to support its statement:

The media, especially Tehran Radio, now regularly report on fighting between the Moslem opposition groups and the Soviet-Afghan army. The news on these battles is prepared by the Islamic Republic center for news. The media use the news exactly as it is prepared by the above-mentioned center. Details in the Iranian coverage are different from other news received from Afghan sources, notably the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. In the Iranian version, it seems the fighting is carried out in the Herat region close to the eastern borders of Iran. Reports are brief and vague and no specific Afghan resistance group is ever mentioned. The writer's impression is that the whole news story is fabricated because day in, day out, the same kind of vague details are repeated. Sometimes, in addition to the Herat front fighting in which no sources are mentioned, the Tehran Radio and other media translate international agency reports on fighting in Afghanistan. However, in selection of agency reports care is invariably taken to translate those reports which do not mention any specific Afghan resistance organization.

On the anniversary of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, 24 December, Afghan refugees in Tehran, Mashad and Kerman held demonstrations against the Soviet Union. According to the Tehran media, the demonstrations were orderly and it seemed they had the blessing of the Islamic authorities. A similar demonstration two years ago did not have official blessing. To judge by media reports, the demonstrations in Tehran were impressive. Western media reported that the Soviet authorities had strongly condemned the Islamic regime for allowing Afghans in Tehran to hold anti-Soviet rallies. But Tehran Radio did not report Soviet protests. Compared to coverage given in the Iranian media to anti-Israeli and anti-U.S. demonstrations, the coverage given to 24 December anti-Soviet demonstrations was restrained and played down.

Iranian authorities have announced two new relief measures for the Afghan refugees in Iran, but they have not yet specified what the measures are. On previous occasions the Iranian authorities have said that they have to cater to one million Afghan refugees. Little information is available on how the refugees live. Many of them roam freely in the country and pick up manual jobs. Afghan refugees are used to swell the ranks of participants in mullah-sponsored rallies and to enlist them in the Revolutionary Guards. Informed sources say that the 24 December demonstrations were forced on the Islamic regime because Afghan elements among fundamentalists threatened to riot. New relief measures may mean that the Afghan refugees will be gathered in special refugee camps to restrict their movement.

From THE TEHRAN TIMES, Iranshahr Avenue, Koucheh Homa, Block 2, Tehran, which is served by the Islamic Republic News Agency, SANA, AFP, WAFA, UPI, AP & DPA 3/31/83:

## Anti-Reagan demo in Kabul, Moslems recapture Khakre area

ISLAMABAD, (UPI) — About 10,000 people shouting "death to President Reagan" demonstrated outside the U.S. Embassy in the capital of Soviet-occupied Afghanistan last week, Western diplomats said Tuesday.

On the fighting front, Moslem rebels recaptured a district headquarters in southern Afghanistan and killed 10 Communist Party activists in apparent retaliation for the impressment of boys as young as 14, the diplomats said.

They said Afghan guerrillas recaptured the Khakrez district Headquarters in southern Afghanistan near Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, on March 3, forcing the district commissioner to flee.

Khakrez had been captured by the Soviet-backed Afghan government only in February.

The diplomats said resistors blew up a government armored personnel carrier in Kandahar on March 15 and killed 10 Communist Party activists probably in retaliation for intensified forces recruitment by government press gangs.

With the arrival of Maj. Gen. Nader Dahhan in Kandahar on March 11 the impressment activities intensified and men were forcibly picked up coming out of mosques and inducted into the depleting ranks of the army. Boys as young as 14 were brought under the colors, the diplomats said.

The diplomats also said an Afghan government intelligence official was assassinated in Chaman in Kandahar district on March 21 and a secret police official was shot to death on March 25 in the city of Kandahar.

With helicopters hovering overhead and security forces of the Karmal regime present, militants carried out a demonstration at the U.S. Embassy March 23, chanting, "death to President Reagan" the diplomats said.

The demonstration was in reaction to Reagan's March 21 speech declaring solidarity with the Afghan people but Pakistan and even China came in for criticism in speeches blared over loudspeakers, the diplomats said.

Speakers praised Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for her handling of the recent Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi.

Western sources described as false the Karmal regime's claim that the anti-U.S. rally was attended by 200,000 people. They said 10,000 was more accurate.

In a major battle near Ghazni, 93 miles (150 km) south of Kabul, some 15 Soviet and Afghan-government troops were killed and a convoy came under heavy resistance fire.

Diplomats said rebels kidnapped 40 troops from a police garrison near Ghazni along with the district commissioner of the area and captured an entire food-laden convoy.

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM NEWSLETTER



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Line Drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar  
The Chicago Afghanistan Relief  
Committee



ABBREVIATIONS USED

DO - Dawn Overseas  
CSM - Christian Science Monitor  
KNT - Kabul New Times  
NYT - New York Times  
FEER - Far Eastern Economic Review  
AWSJ - Asian Wall Street Journal  
WSJ - Wall Street Journal  
AICMB - Afghanistan Information Ctr. Monthly Bulletin  
PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afganistan  
CC - Central Committee  
NFF - National Fatherland Front  
NWFP - North West Frontier Province  
DYOA - Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan  
DRA - Democratic Republic of Afghanistan  
WDOA - Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan

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